

तुम्हाणं ॥ अम्हाणं अम्हाहं* । (१) एमो अरहंताणं । एमो सिद्धाणं । (२) एमो
आहरियाणं । (३) एमो उवम्हायाणं ॥ । एमो लोए सम्मसङ्गणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

भवति ॥ दोहं वेहं^(१) । तिहं । चउहं ॥

SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

॥ ६^a ॥ टी एः ॥ ६^a ॥

लिंगात् परस् टा इत्यस्य^(१) ए आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा ।
मज्झणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5.

गामेहिं ॥ *गुरुहिं^(१) । एदेहिं । तुम्हेहिं^(२) । अम्हेहिं । †दोहिं^(३) वेहिं ।
तीहिं ॥

* C नदीनां । गुरुणां । बुद्धीनां । मधूनां । अस्माकं ॥ † C एमो अरहंताणं नमोऽर्हंताः ।
नमोऽर्हत् (१०) चतुर्थी बहुवचनस्य अये भ्यसु । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 एमः अर्हत्) । एदोद्र० (ii,
10 एमयो अर्हत्) । खराणां० (ii, 1 एमो अर्हत्) । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा र्ह इत्यस्य रर इति
स्थितं । संयोगस्थे० (iii, 30 एमो अरहत्) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 एमो अरहत्) । अदा-
मनो० (ii, 11 एमो अरहत्) । षष्ठीवच० (ii, 13) । सागमस्या० (ii, 5 एमो अरहत्) ।
खरो० (ii, 4 एमो अरहंताणं) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 एमो अरहंताणं) ॥ ‡ C सिद्धाणं ।
सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ § C आहरियाणं आचार्येभ्यः । आचार्य । कगचज० (iii, 34 आचार्य) । खरो०
(ii, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने र भवति (आर्ह्य) । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा संयोगस्थे० (iii, 30
आर्ह्य) । खरो० (ii, 4 आहरिया) । आम् अस्य ए (i, 5 आहरियाणं) । अनुस्वारो० (ii,
15 आहरियाणं) ॥ ॥ C उवम्हायाणं उपाध्यायेभ्यः । उपाध्याय । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12
उपाध्याय) । वगोद् (iii, 5 उपाध्याय) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 उपाध्याय) । लोपे० (iii, 24)
तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उपाध्याय) । ह्रस्वत्० (ii, 3 उवम्हाय) । खरो० (ii, 4 उवम्हाया) ।
एमो एः (i, 5 उवम्हायाणं) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 उवम्हायाणं) । उवम्हायाणं सिद्धं ॥
¶ C नमो लोके चर्चसाधुभ्यः ॥ ** C गुरुभिः । नदीभिः । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः । दाम्भ्यां ।
चिभिः ॥ †† C दोहिं । हि अये भ्या । द्विवचने बहुवचनं (sic) ज्ञेयं (ii, 12 हि-भिः) ।
वगोद्० (iii, 5 हिभिः) । खरो० (ii, 4 दोहिम्) । हि भिः (i, 7 दोहिं) ॥

(१) C adds एमो अरहंताणं । एमो अरहंताणं ॥ (२) C adds एमो आहरियाणं ॥
(३) C adds एमो उवम्हायाणं ॥ (४) C वे० ॥ (५) D reads only हो for इत्यं ए
आहं ॥ (६) Dom. (७) D नदहिं । (८) D तुम्हेहिं and अम्हेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहिं
वेहिं । तीहिं । तीहिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थी बहुवचनस्य ॥

II. B. 74

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THE
(PRĀKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ĀRSHA) PRĀKRIT

EDITED BY

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE,

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SOCIETY OF BENGAL, ETC.

(Part I.)

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.

B. 75.

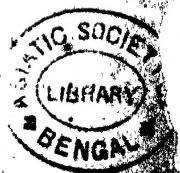
CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY J. W. THOMAS, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,

PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY,

57, PARK STREET.

1880.



BI88

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TO

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.

ETC., ETC.

*WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES
OF INDIA*

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.

In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS. A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS. C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS., has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks; but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS. C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS. B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted; in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chāṇḍa's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sūtras and Prākṛit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lāla Mitra Rai Bahādur and Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra Śāstrī in so readily placing at my service their MSS. of Chāṇḍa's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

A. F. R.-H.

Calcutta, October 1890.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Prākṛit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chanda. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Vira or Mahāvira, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prākṛit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes; assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Pāṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following: *pāṇinibhagavān prākṛitalakṣhaṇam api vakti saṃskṛitād anyat*, "*dirghākṣharam cha kūtṛachid ekām mātrām upaiti*" *iti*; i. e., "the blessed Pāṇini also enunciates a Prākṛit rule, different from Sanskrit, viz., that a long vowel becomes short."† Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Pāṇini was the author of a Prākṛit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. I, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Sūryaprajñāpti,

* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due; e. g., the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sūtra I, 6. The mere fact of Chanda treating of an old form of Prākṛit, which was afterwards modified by the Jains, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chanda with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertatio inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.

and is as follows: "*chattári*" *iti cha sūtre napuṃsakatvanirdeṣaḥ prākṛita-tvāt ; prākṛite hi lingam vyabhichāri, yad āha pāṇiniḥ svaprākṛitalakṣhaṇe, "lingam vyabhichāry api" iti ; i. e., "as to the form 'chattāri' occurring in the sūtra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prākṛit ; for in Prākṛit the gender is changeable, as Pāṇini has said in his (work called) Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa : 'the gender is changeable also.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sūtra I, 4. If our Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa is the work referred to by those two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of Kēdāra Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation, but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind. Malayagiri's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule. Among all Prākṛit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule. The nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 415 and Trivikrama III, 4, 69, *lingam atantram*, with its commentary: *apabhraṃṣe lingam atantram vyabhichāri prāyo bhavati*. It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confuses the Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa with Hemachandra's work. It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa, *kvachid vyatyāyāḥ*, would hardly have suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so. A confusion of Chaṇḍa's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chaṇḍa's work was, as it were, the frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work. It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhraṃṣa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prākṛit generally. Now Chaṇḍa's rule *does* apply to Prākṛit generally. The fact, that both Kēdāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa to Pāṇini, is, of course, of no weight. It merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work. Still its traditional ascription to Pāṇini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character well agrees with Chaṇḍa's Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa. There is another curious circumstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention here, as it seems to bear on the question under notice. Weber (in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 273) quotes another remark of that writer: *bahuvāchanam prākṛitātadvā, uktam cha "bahuvāyano (yānena ?) dvavāyaṇam" iti ; i. e., "the use of the plural is (accountable) by Prākṛit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expressed) by the plural.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sūtra II, 12, with its commentary.* But the curious fact is that in the marginal**

* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is different (*dvivāchanasya bahuvāchanam*) and seems to have been taken from Vararuchi VI, 63.

gloss of MS. C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sūtra of Chanda is always quoted in nearly the same Prākṛit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sūtras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, e. g., the footnote to *sakkisāṇā* in II, 1., and the footnote to *dvitvam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chanda's sūtra by his Prākṛit quotation; and if so, the same Prākṛit quotation in Malayagiri must refer to the same sūtra (of Chanda). Perhaps the fact shows that Chanda's Grammar was originally written in Prākṛit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prākṛit works; but that a few of his sūtras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prākṛit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chanda's Prākṛita Lakṣhaṇa.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS. which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS. A and B are the property of Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr. Mitra on p. xix, of the Appendix to Vol. III, Part II, No. IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS.; but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the variae lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS. of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr. Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Paṇḍit in Lucknow, who has since died; but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nāgarī characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS. A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS. C is a very excellent MS., beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra Śāstrī, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Koḍāyā in Kachchh (W. India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its

excellent execution. It is said to have been copied from a very old MS., 400 years old; with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died. The MS. is complete; and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text. This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sūtra of the IInd chapter. Whether this is owing to the original MS. having had no more of it, or the student, who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear.* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prakrit examples and quotations; it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms. For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus. The MS. C bears no date; but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin.

MS. D belongs to myself. It was given to me by my friend Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS. C. It is a very fair MS., though not so good as C. It is clearly and carefully written; but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes. It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page. It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Paṇḍit Rāma Miśra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS. in the possession of a Paṇḍit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar. This original MS. also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS. exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prakrit.‡ MS. C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (निर्दिष्ट) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself. But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sūtra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS. D, renders this improbable. In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned paṇḍit; though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably. See, e. g., the clumsy way in which sūtra CD I, 6a is drawn.

† Thus गुह्यं for गुह्यं, गिरिं for गिरौ, I, 5; Sanskrit जेषां for जेषां in I, 3, etc.

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally. I have noticed them in other than Jain writings; e. g., in the MSS. of the Prithirāja Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prakrit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prakrit*, pp. 11, 29, 80, Jacobi, *Kaṭha Sūtra*, pp. 17-21, Klatt, *Dhanapāla's Rishabha*

Prākṛit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B¹ are written in the ordinary Nāgarī of Eastern Hindūstān, but they show unmistakeable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jainana use western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1. The symbol No. 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS. C this is always carefully distinguished from *u*. MS. D in a few cases confuses them. But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even *u* (ú) or *ur* (ur) is written; thus showing that the copyists had no notion of the meaning of that Jainana symbol.

2. In MS. C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. See Nos. 2—7.

3. The two symbols Nos. 8 or 9 for *jh* and No. 10 for *ḍ* are always carefully distinguished in C; but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nāgarī symbol *ḍ*, however, is also occasionally used in D; in C it is the usual one.

4. The substitute *ṣ* for *ś*, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D. In B it is found once; viz., III, 15 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *śśśś*. On the other hand, MS. A has once the very unusual substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*; viz. III, 14 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣ*.

5. The use of the symbols *b* and *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besu* (I, 3), *behim* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahū* (I, 3) and *vahū* (I, 9). MS. D has *ribū* and *rivum* (I, 3), *gávī* and *góbī* (II, 16), &c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS. A and B are no less uncertain; thus A has *vuddhī* and *buddhiu* (I, 10), *gābī* and *gāvīhim* (II, 16); B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehim* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B prefers *v*.† As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS. C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6. There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols *ś* and *ṣ*; though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely; e. g., *śīlam* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *śūra*. In D it is much more frequent; e. g., *śaśi* for *śasi* (I, 22); *śmasānam* for *śmasānam*, *śīrshāḥ* for *śīrshāḥ*, &c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B, *śese*, *hamse* *pasuta* for *śese*, *hamse*, *paṣutta*, (IV, 39); in A *tīṣaṇham* for *tīṣaṇham* (I, 6). The substitution of *ṣ* for *ś* is much more common than the reverse.

7. The symbols Nos. 11 or 12 for *kkh* often occur in D. In A and B

Panchāngikā in J. G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, pp. 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kaipa Sūtra*, pp. 137-143.

* Once D writes *o* for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; e. g., *bāyamu* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti him* (III, 7), *barga* (III, 17), *barṇa* (III, 26).

INTRODUCTION.

the symbols are Nos. 13 and 14.* C always has the usual Nāgarī symbol च, which also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply च; C never.

8. The symbol च for gg is very common in the marginal gloss, though in the text, of C. Once or twice it occurs in D. Otherwise the ordinary Nāgarī form ग is used. In the originals of A and B, however, it must have been almost universal. The copyists evidently did not know it; for they commonly write it as ग gn or ग gj, see Nos. 15 and 16. Only once does A give the correct transcription ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13).

9. The symbols, No. 17 for chchh and No. 18 for tth, are generally distinguished in C; there are only two exceptions, viz., echchhu for etthu (I, 11) and pattham for pachchham (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nāgarī symbol च for both chchh and tth; thus pachchham = Skr. *pathyam* and pachchho for pattho = Skr. *pārthah* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nāgarī च chchh and त tth; though the commonly write merely च chh in the place of च chchh. On the other hand C and D commonly write No. 17 and च respectively in the place of च chh.

10. The symbol of jj is No. 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज.

11. The symbols Nos. 22—26 or Nos. 27 and 28 for jjh are used in C and D. The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos. 29—36.

12. The symbol ङ for tth is commonly used by A, B, D; rarely ङ or ङ. C has always ङ. Similarly the symbols ङ or ङ for ddh are commonly used by all four MSS. I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards *writing* them; though, doubtlessly, they were always *pronounced* correctly (according to the rules Ch. III, 26. Vr. III, 51. H. C. II, 90). Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate. A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate. Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS. of Chayḍa. I have met with every one of them in the MSS. of the Prithirāj Rāsau. Thus the symbol No. 37 is strictly pbbh, while Nos. 38 or 39 are bbbh. Similarly Nos. 13 and 14 (in the Prithirāj च) are strictly kkkh, while Nos. 11 and 12 are kkh.

13. The symbols च, च, च, च, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhāgavati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*dukkhānam*). The latter were in MS. W of the *Prākṛita Prakāśa*, as noted by Cowell, p. 90, (sutra 20).

originals. It may be observed that, as a rule, च *dh* is a mistake for च *chch* and च *gh* for च *vv*; thus the former occurs in A चचिय (II, 17) for चचिय, B चाच (III, 9) for चाच; the latter in B पघतः (III, 9) for पघतः. The occasional use of च or च for च is peculiar to D; e. g., कच for कच (III, 2), पुच for पुच (C D III, 15a).

14. The symbol No. 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh*. MS. D has No. 38; and A B have Nos. 29, 40 and 41.

15. The mis-spelled symbol च *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D. In A it is very rare; in C it never occurs.

16. The symbol च or च is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvāra, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1); never in C and D. In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvāra, in conjuncts; e. g., *lingāñcha* (I, 2), *hīñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *kinte* (I, 23), *jalanti* (I, 12), *vambhanā* (II, 12), &c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prakrit observable in the MSS. are two:

1. The presence of the dental न *n*. In MSS. A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word. In MSS. C and D, न is every where changed to न, in accordance with the commoner Prakrit usage (see Vr. II, 42). This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS. C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B; compare, e. g., their introductory salutation, and their additions in sūtra I, 5.*

2. The so-called *ya-sruti*, i. e., the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one. This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS.

The text presented in these four MSS. differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS. and from the list of sūtras appended to this edition. The MSS. may be divided into two classes. The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D; but while the former MSS. contain 99 sūtras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sūtras distributed into four chapters. The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS., expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary.† On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p. xxiv.

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D; that of the latter two MSS. being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence: others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sūtras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sūtra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS. A and B, sūtra I, 19 तुसं सौ सविभक्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तुर च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुसं mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sūtras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sūtras, placing them thus: I, 19. तुसं सौ सविभक्तौ, I, 21 तुसं जसि, I, 20 अमि तुर च. But when the sūtras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुसं of the preceding sūtra is also to be understood in the last sūtra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually *insert* into the last sūtra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sūtra to अमि तुर तुसं तं च (see App. C D, p. 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sūtra but to a part of the sūtra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sūtra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant *ś* in the sūtras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sūtras (III, 1—9); the remaining sūtras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants; the intermediate sūtra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division.* In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct *save* one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chardā next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sūtras are concerned, is recognised; it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial; or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chanda rules that every *single* ऋ ण or व श् changes to च स in Prākṛit (III, 18); so that as regards *single* consonants, च स represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chanda has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of च स. Thus we have sūtra III, 14 सकारस्य खड्गात्, illustrated by दृष = दृष; again sūtra III, 39 सागविकायां रस्योर् लभौ, illustrated by शेषः = शेषे. Here ऋ ण and व श् are indicated by च स, because by sūtra III, 18 they are no more ऋ ण and व श्, but have been already changed to च स; that is, दृष = दृष = दृष, and शेषः = शेषे = शेषे.* This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sūtra III, 18. In that part, च स cannot represent the whole sibilant class; for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chanda elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant ऋ ण; most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (ऋ, ण, च). Thus in sūtra III, 2 ब्रवत्येव व्यञ्जनं, ऋ represents च in रुग् = चम्, and ब्र in ब्रतव्यं = चतव्यं. That is, व v and र r are respectively elided after च स and ऋ ण; next च स and ऋ ण, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where ऋ ण at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into च स; while च स, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chanda follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sūtra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sūtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of ऋ ण and च स. Consequently they use च स throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants ऋ ण and व श् practically do not exist, having at once changed to च स.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दृष and शेषे are here introduced by a silent reference to sūtra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prākṛit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sūtra I, 269, where he rules that the v of *svapna* becomes m; but in reality the p of *svapna*, having become v by silent reference to sūtra I, 231, becomes m. That the p, not the v, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 269, may be seen by comparing the sūtras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sūtra III, 23, but though that sūtra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as *parts of a conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not च स, but ऋ ण.

Thus C D read *सबलेभ्यो संजनं* in sūtra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example *सोतव्यं* = *सोतव्यं*; that is, they make *स* *s* to indicate *स* *s*, because, according to them, *सोतव्यं* changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into *सोतव्यं*; whereupon *र* *r* is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two; but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan; for with the exception of those two sūtras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sūtra III, 8 *षाट् ङः*, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to *षाट् ङः*. For just as in the previous case *सोतव्यं* becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, *सोतव्यं*, so here *षाट्* becomes by the same rule *षाट्*; next *स* *s* would be elided. So that, consistently, *स* *s* should here have been written to represent *स* *śh*. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sūtra *षाट् ङः* is correct; it could not have been spelled *षाट् ङः*, because the sibilant *स* *śh* is the only (*conjunct*) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter as between Chanda and his Revisionists stands thus: Chanda uses *स* *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally; hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use *स* *s*, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses *स* *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but *स* *s*, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chanda's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than *स*) as an indicatory in any sūtra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but *स* *s*, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated; but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS. B spells *सो* for *सो* in sūtra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored *स* *s* in all sūtras, in which the original plan of Chanda requires it; i. e., in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

* The only two Prākṛit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a *conjunct* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Śubhachandra. The former uses *स* *śh* (T. V.

Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sūtra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prākṛit language, than the wording of the same sūtra in MSS. C and D; and this circumstance is confirmed by sūtras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sūtra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Śauraseni dialect, that is, by the omission of sūtra III, 39a which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Māhārāṣṭrī; a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sūtra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to क् ह (with the exception of क् क् and क् ख्), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sūtras, as they stand in A B, with the same sūtras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc. ट् ढ and ड् ढ), whether sord or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether sord or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to क् ह . I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS. B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chanda presents a very old phase of the Prākṛit language, and that the MS. A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form; but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7.); the latter has क् (S. C. I, 1. 7). Chanda's संज्ञात् क् is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add u or varga to a consonant in order to form a संज्ञा (e. g., क् or क्व for the guttural class). This may be a typographical fact; of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that it may really have been क् or क् ; in sūtra III, 4, MS. B reads क् , which is given as to for क् (क्); and क् would be the locative of क् or क् ; see the footnote substitute current of sūtra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chanda's grammar; but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chanda untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prākṛit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chanda's rule III, 11 च् थ changes to च् ध; by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथः *nāthaḥ* to change into नाधेः *nāho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च् च, न त, प are not elided; by way of illustration we have सुई *sui* for सुचिः *suchiḥ*, वाधो *vāo* for वानः *vataḥ*, नेडरं *neuram* for नूपुरं *nūpuram*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar.* It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies; and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp. IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS., especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself.†

* Another instance is sūtra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*; but one of the examples given is *buddhi* for *buddhi*. Or similarly according to sūtras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prākṛit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk. *bhis* becoming Prāk. *hi*; the examples, however, are *aggihi*, *mahūhi* for *aggihi*, *mahūhi* = Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, *mādhubhiḥ*. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, see note Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa restored MSS. ii "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Pāli *i. e.*, in III, 2. 4. language than the Prākṛit of the Jains. The fact is true, but it proves the form of the Jaina sūtras was fixed only one thousand years after

* The only two. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the for the sibilant class (sūtras) underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1). With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following :—

First.—There is (as already noticed on p. xi) the direct evidence of sūtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *k* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surda.

Second.—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c., shows that, as a rule, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided; precisely what Chanda's rules III, 12, 34 indicate.

Third.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS. A and B in a few cases still retain an original *ṣ t*. Thus in II, 26 A B read *मे छत्तं । खया छत्तं ॥* Originally, I think, the example must have stood *मे कत्तं । खया छत्तं ॥* The copyist, not recognising *कत्तं* as a Prākṛit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into *छत्तं*. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prākṛit form *कत्तं*, but objecting to it on the score of obsolescence, changed it into the correct later Prākṛit form *कयं*. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding *कदं* (or even *कयं*) in his original, changed it into *छत्तं*. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondered at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text.

Fourth.—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D; it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e. g.*, *कत्तं* into *कयं*, than *कदं*; for though *कत्तं* could not possibly have been later Prākṛit, *कदं* might have been so. If they had found *कदं* or *अच्छदि* (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prākṛit is not altogether unknown; but if they found *कत्तं* or *अच्छत्ति*, they could not do otherwise but change it into *कयं* and *अच्छद*, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.—Chanda's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability; some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so; but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory; it enjoins the change of *न n* to *य n*; but as a matter of fact, an initial *न n* never changes to *य n*, and even a medial *न n* does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact; but as it is a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to of those who handed down the sūtras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp. 19, 20, also pp. 16, 17.

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional.* The case of rule III, 12 is similar; it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क k to ग g was a comparatively exceptional occurrence; on the other hand the change of ढ ḍ to ढ ḍ must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त t to द d, and of प p to व v, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations; and for the reasons given under Nos. 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, i. e., as a rule त t and प p were retained. On the other hand, the retention of क k must have been comparatively exceptional; as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग g.

Sixth.—In sūtra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of *vat* "like", there is also mentioned *jahá*. Now *jahá* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathá*. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a surd aspirated य थ to ञ h, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahá* for particular notice. But if य थ at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to ञ dh, then *jahá* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chanda's grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every थ to h, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jahá* to remain in the sūtra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sūtra into his grammar (see II. C. II, 182), omitted *jahá*.†

There is, in sūtra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chanda the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sūtra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* "thus" changes in Prákrit to *iya*. If it had been usual at that time to elide all surd unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sūtra than that the

* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chanda's Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p. VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar.

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chanda and his Revisionists.

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandra in his grammar (see H. C. I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial *ṣ* *i*; accordingly, seeing that Chanda's sūtra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chanda's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chanda's sūtra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sūtras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh.—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chanda spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (ऋ) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (ब) were generally softened (व). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chanda, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chanda which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (ऋ); among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once.† Of the hard labial (ब) there are 10 cases; among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to व).‡ But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sūtras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS. agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sūtras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS.; thus, of B in sūtra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softenings are, कद in the special sūtra III, 11 and ववदि in the Māgadhi sūtra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sūtra. The retention is in पलाम in sūtra I, 23. A retains ऋ in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26, III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23, II, 26, III, 9, 23, 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेडर, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case; perhaps already existing in Chanda's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेडुर in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss); though it has नेडर in III, 34. In one case (पुनर अपि II, 10) D retains ब; so also A once (बप I, 17); these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains व (III, 3), and A B once retain ड (I, 3 पौड). [N. B.—पुनरवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुनरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that *sūtra* (compare the terms of *sūtra* III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same *sūtra* in the Text); and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (व) notwithstanding the revised terms of *sūtra* III, 34, they further altered the terms of *sūtra* III, 22 (from चवयोर् अत्यासः to पवयोर् अ०) and inserted an altogether new *sūtra* (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the *sūtras*. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists; compare H. C. I, 177, 231, and Vr. II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of *sūtra* III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of *sūtra* III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former *sūtra*), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *kh* in *sūtra* III, 13 and subsuming it under *sūtra* III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*; thus, in the examples of *sūtra* III, 11, they change both च *th* and क *kh* to ह *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *kh* in *sūtra* III, 13 is superfluous; accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it; they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of *sūtra* III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of *sūtra* III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order; compare H. C. I, 187, 236 and Vr. II, 27, 26.

(2). Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in *sūtra* I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the *sūtra*. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe*; but in *sūtra* I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe*. Chanda cannot possibly have written the same word in both *sūtras*; that would be contrary to the whole genius of *sūtra*-writing; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one *sūtra*: *tubbhe* (or *tumbhe*) *jaṣṣasoḥ*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS. A and B the conjuncts *m̐h*, *b̐h* and *j̐h* are perpetually confused; the two symbols म̐ or ज̐* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिम̐ for

* Once or twice also म̐ and ज̐; these are clearly only due to careless writing.

सिद्धा III, 2, जिम्मा for जिम्मा III, 1, बम्मा for बम्मा III, 20; सम्मा for सम्मा III, 8, मम्मा for मम्मा I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prākṛit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them.* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS. A and B were copied from an original MS. written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sūtras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nāgarī symbol. Since however the two sūtras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols. The question is, which were they, from among the three. As to sūtra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy; it must have contained the symbol for *bḥh*. For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sūtra I, 22 (and also in I, 3 where the word re-occurs). On this point C and D may be trusted; the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters; the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing; and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bḥh* with those for *jḥh* or *mḥh*. The case is more complicated as to sūtra I, 21. Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading. Yet indirectly their reading *tumḥe* declares for *tumbḥe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbḥe* has been modified into *tumḥe* than that *tujḥe* should have done so. Even at the present day *mḥ* and *mḥh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars. In Hindī, e. g., *thāmhai* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhai*. For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbḥe* in I, 21, and *tubbḥe* in I, 22.

(3). For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *i* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar. If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanda are correct, it would follow that his Prākṛit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pāli. This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanda's Prākṛit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pāli. It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mḥh* to those for *bḥh* and *jḥh* is strikingly shown in sūtra III, 2, where C appears to read *sijḥā* and D *sibbḥā* for *simbḥā*.

with Pāli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate; but it differs from Pāli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates; the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS. may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chāṇḍa's Prākṛit represents an older phonetic stage than even Pāli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *ā*, *ī* and *ū*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chāṇḍa's Prākṛit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Pāli as well as the later Prākṛit shorten it; e. g., Skr. and Ch. *gaṇḍām*, but Pā. and Pr. *gaṇḍam*; Skr. *nadīm*, Ch. *naīm*, but Pā. *nadim*, Pr. *naīm*; Skr. *mām* "me", Ch. *mām*, but Pā. *mam*, Pr. *mam*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prākṛit (see Vr. V, 21. H. C. III, 36); so also Kachchayana for the Pāli (see Kach. II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chāṇḍa; a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3.*

It may now be asked, what language this old Prākṛit of Chāṇḍa may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Arsha* of Hemachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "ārsha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rishis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this Arsha Prākṛit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chāṇḍa's rules are only permissive; i. e., they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability; they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Māgadhibī Prākṛit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (*porāṇam*) or *ārsha*

* The rule Kach. II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *ā*; those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chāṇḍa's sūtra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *ā*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of C D, who write *gaṇḍam* and *tam*, but *naīm*. But it is very improbable that in Chāṇḍa's Prākṛit *ī* should have remained long, while *ā* was shortened. Either all three (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *ī* and *ū* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gaṇḍām*, *tvām*; for these are due to sandhi (*gaṇḍā + am*, *tvā + am*).

† *Rishāṇām idam ārshaṁ*.

‡ H. C. I, 3. *ārshaṁ prākṛitam bahulam bhavati*.

§ H. C. I, 3. *ārshaḥ hi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante*.

Prākṛit, in common with the Arddhamāgadhī Prākṛit which it follows, agrees with the Māgadhī in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the Arddhamāgadhī, the phrase *kayare āgachchhai* "which of the two has come." The *porāṇa* or *ārsha* form of it would be, *katāre āgachchhati*.* Now this is the very example, which is given in Chanda's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10, that the nom. sing. may end in *e*. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statement, that by the term *ārsha* he understands that ancient (*porāṇa*) form of the Prākṛit language which included what in his day was called the Arddhamāgadhī, and which, while agreeing with the Māgadhī as regards the termination *e* of the nom. sing., but differing from it with regard to the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Māgadhī, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī. Or to put it in another way: Arddhamāgadhī is the same as Māhārāṣṭrī in all respects, except the nom. sing. in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Māgadhī; on the other hand Māgadhī is identical with Arddhamāgadhī in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar to the former. If we now substitute the short name *Arsha* in the place of Arddhamāgadhī plus Māhārāṣṭrī (of which jointly the *Arsha* is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chanda's Grammar. He speaks of four Prākṛits, viz., the Prākṛit, the Māgadhī, the Pāṣāṇī and the Apabhraṃṣa. He omits all mention of the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī; further his rules on the Prākṛit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in *e*; while he makes his Māgadhī to differ from his Prākṛit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prākṛit of Chanda is the *ārsha* or ancient (*porāṇa*) form of the Arddhamāgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī.†

* Hemachandra's words are: *yañ api "porāṇam arddhamāgadhābhāṣānīyayam haviṣṭam" ity ādinā ārshasya arddhamāgadhābhāṣānīyatatvam āmnāyi vṛddhais tad api prāyo 'ya eva vidhānāt, na vakṣyamāṇalakṣhaṇasya*; i. e., "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamāgadhī,' that may be also understood of the present rule (viz. H. C. 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones." Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine; though the general tenor is the same. (See *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 17.) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Māgadhī."

† As a minor evidence of Chanda's Prākṛit being the *Arsha*, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chaṇḍa's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into Arddhamāgadhi, Mahārāshṭrī and Śauraseni probably did not yet exist; but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) Prākṛit. By the side of this great or standard Prākṛit, however, there existed two other Prākṛits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prākṛit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prākṛits were the Māgadhi and the Apabhraṃṣa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively; that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prākṛits in Chaṇḍa's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp. III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Aśoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 43.* "The Inscriptions of Aśoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same*† throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of Pāli (or Prākṛit) in the time of Aśoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjābī or north-western dialect, the Ujjenī or middle dialect, and the Māgadhi or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjābī or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*"; that of the Māgadhi or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted." (Corp. I. I. pp. 43, 44.) If we substitute Apabhraṃṣa for General Cunningham's Panjābī, we have almost the very words of Chaṇḍa's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

fact, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the *Kṛṣṇa*, are given as ordinary forms by Chaṇḍa; e. g., *kaṭṭu* II, 19, cf. H. C. II, 146; *śukuman* or *śukuman* III, 30, cf. H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 221 (quoted in Mair's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 109, 132).

† The italics in the extract are mine.

Δ	Subpoint	t	σ
1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1
3	1	1	1
4	1	1	1
5	1	1	1
6	1	1	1
7	1	1	1
8	1	1	1
9	1	1	1
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92	1	1	1
93	1	1	1
94	1	1	1
95	1	1	1
96	1	1	1
97	1	1	1
98	1	1	1
99	1	1	1
100	1	1	1

The numbers attached to the names of the languages are their approximate dates B.C. or A.D. numbers.

MAP OF INDIA
SHOWING THE
DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
PRAKRIT LANGUAGES

N = Northern India
W = Western India
C = Central India
E = Eastern India
M = Maharashtra
S = Southern India
A = Andhra

Shabha (200)
Ashwadev (200)
Khadi (200)
Muz (200)
Delhi (200)
Allahabad (200)
Banar (200)
Varanasi (200)
Rameswari (200)
Madurai (200)
Kanchi (200)
Srirangapatna (200)

Mh - *Maharashtra*
 M - *Madhya Pradesh*
 A - *Andhra Pradesh*
 K - *Karnataka*
 N - *Northern India*
 W - *Western India*
 C - *Central India*
 E - *Eastern India*
 S - *Southern India*

MAP
OF
INDIA
SHOWING THE
DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
IN
B.C. 300—1.

posed at a somewhat later time; for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chāṇḍa, than in that of the time of Aśoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions.*

As to the Paśācī, mentioned by Chāṇḍa in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paśācī, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudīan Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prakṛit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population.

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prakṛit languages, named by Chāṇḍa. One of the principal peculiarities of the Māgadhī or Eastern Prakṛit, mentioned by Chāṇḍa, is the substitution of *l* for *r*.† This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasrām, Barābar, Rāmagarh, Dhauri and Jaugada (see Map)‡ At Bairāt, one inscription shows it, the other does not; and the same is the case at Allahābād. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairāt, thence eastward to Allahābād and again southward by Rāmagarh to Jaugada, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Māgadhī, and the Western or Chāṇḍa's Standard Prakṛit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prakṛit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Mahārāshṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃśa Prakṛit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Shālbāzgarhī Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chāṇḍa to that Prakṛit, viz. the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chāṇḍa mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prakṛit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rūpanāth show the termination *e*, while

* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sūtra, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chāṇḍa's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prakṛit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p. 19, also p. 4). This seems to be indicated by Chāṇḍa's sūtra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal *ṣ* for the dental *s*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence; except one of them at Rāmagarh, which has *ṣ* throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

those of Gīrnār, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Bairāt, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Māgadhi area, will approximately divide the *e*-area of the Western Prākṛit from its *o*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Arddhamāgadhi Prākṛit, because this Prākṛit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Māgadhi. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times came to be called, the Māhārāṣṭri and Śauraseni Prākṛits. The Paisācī must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prākṛit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chaṇḍa's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chaṇḍa's Grammār generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sūtra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idam*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *sim* in the genitive plural; but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*".* The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi; because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *sim* to the singular and plural respectively; and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chaṇḍa's statement in his sūtra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idam* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural".† The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chaṇḍa. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

* *Idam-tad-ātmāpi se śāḍaṇam kaṣoḍā icchhātī*, H. C. III, 81.

† *Tadidam-ātmāpi se śāḍaṇam kaṣoḍā*, Ch. I, 17.

Hemachandra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 6a with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prākṛit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H. C. III, 137).^{*} Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prākṛit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhraṃṣa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 27l with H. C. IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes; whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it.[†] The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sūtra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *d*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sūtra III, 8 still preserves it. But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sūtras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8. Two of them, indeed, *viz.*, I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch. II, 1a and I, 1b. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sūtra II, 1b in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8, while II, 1c in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 6. That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sūtra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sūtra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sūtra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sūtra II, 1b, as it is not preceded by any sūtra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

^{*} It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prākṛit forms in the text of the MS. A B makes for the antiquity of the latter. For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark.

[†] Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation. I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sūtras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sūtra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prākṛit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sūtra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done; (see H. C. I, 177 and compare the examples). This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place. See also the footnote on p. xiv.

sūtra. This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sūtra IV, 353 is found in MS. C, but not in MS. D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sūtra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS. D has only *one* sūtra less than MS. C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sūtra I, 11a ought to be supplied in D.* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chaṇḍa, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr. V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chaṇḍa. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prākṛit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them. (See remarks on p. xxv). On the other hand the terms of Vr. II, 2 as compared with those of Ch. III, 34 in MSS. A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi is later than Chaṇḍa. But as to whether he was acquainted with Chaṇḍa's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable.

A SKETCH OF CHAṆḌA'S GRAMMAR,

COMPARED WITH THOSE OF VARARUCHI AND HEMACHANDRA.

1, VOWELS.

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prākṛit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa.

In common with the later, the old Prākṛit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels; *ṛi* (II, 5), *ai* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding *ṛi*, *ḷi*, *ḷi*, but they seem to be included in the term *rvarṇasya* (II, 5).

* A similar accidental omission of sūtra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS. B.

Instead of *ri*, either the syllable *ri* or any other vowel (*a, i, u, e, o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5).

Instead of *ai* either *ai* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *ai* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) : but not *i, i* and *u*, as in later Prākṛit.

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prākṛit possesses, there are the following two broad laws :

1. *A long vowel (ī, ī, ū) preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened (a, i, u),* II, 3. Hemachandra's rule, H. C. I, 84, corresponds to this ; Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p. 185.

2. *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2) ; e. g., *deva + indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Aṛṣha the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda*.* There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra ; they apparently did not acknowledge it. But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prākṛit ; thus in the Bhagavatī occur *yoguraoe* = Skr. *yogopayogah*, *appusue* = Skr. *alpotsukah*, *paḍuppanna* = Skr. *prati-utpanna*, *sa'tattaram* = Skr. *saptottaram*, (see Weber's edition, pp. 386, 406, 408, 427).

On the other hand the later Prākṛit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chāṇḍa. Thus we have *gṛphati* in Ch. III, 23 for *gēphai* in H. C. IV, 209.

For the rest, *vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges*, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1). It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chāṇḍa in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prākṛit.

2, CONSONANTS.

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prākṛit of Chāṇḍa differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1. The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word. This follows from sūtra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Aṛṣha sentence, *devindaṃ aṇṇaṃ abbai* : see H. C. III, 162.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prākṛit possesses, are subject to the following laws :

a, *Single Consonants.*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvāra or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11. III, 33). In Vararuchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sūtras (Vr. IV, 6—12. H. C. I, 11—24).

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26).

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13).

4, Initial *g* is once (in *gharam*) said to become *gh* (III, 20).

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*jñ*), it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *ḍ* sometimes changes to *ḷ* (III, 21). Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others. In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon; see C D III, 21. Vr. II, 23. H. C. I, 202.

7, *ṇ* changes to *n* in Paisācī (III, 38).

8, Dental consonants (incl. *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16). [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*ty*, *dy*, *sth*, etc.) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16); once (in *khambo*) such a *th* becomes *kḥ* (III, 19)].

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21).

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15); except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17). Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii); except in the passive where it is changed to *jj* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *i* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)]. In *toraha* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22); but the same word is explained differently in III, 31.

11, *r* remains unchanged; excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *n* (III, 18, 20). These exceptions, however, can be explained differently. In the Paisācī and Māgadī dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39).

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). Once (in *rukkho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22).

13, *ś* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *h* (III, 14). In Māgadhī, however, it always changes to *ś* (III, 39). [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *śh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *kh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)].

14, *h* remains unchanged; excepting one case (*gharam*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19). [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)].

b, *Conjunct Consonants.*

In the treatment of these the older Prākṛit is altogether in accord with the later. They may be dealt with in two ways:—

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30.

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27).

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26); and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29).

With regard to elision Chanda's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same. In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see Vr. III, 9—66. H. C. II, 1—115); but Chanda strictly carries out the theory of elision. For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants. Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it. Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, etc. in the Apabhraṃśa III, 37); *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc. (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*; *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9); *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9); *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1); the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3); lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *śk*, *śp*, *śhp*, *ṣṇ*, *śṇ*, *sm*, *shm*, etc.). This is his principle of elision. But his principle of arranging the sūtras is the order of the letters in the alphabet. He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2); next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8); and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9). The six sūtras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct. First Chaṇḍa gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8).

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets. Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (*ś* or *śh*), it is *ipso facto* (i. e. by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp. ix, x). The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p. xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside *ṣ* and *ṣh*) which do not exist in Prākṛit.

It may be well to illustrate Chaṇḍa's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakṣhmī*, *kṛṣṇam*, *spashtaṃ*, *sthitaḥ*, *vidyā*, *jihvā*, *vāhyah*. Here *LAṬSINI* first becomes *lakṣhī* (by III, 6), then *lashī* (III, 4) or *lasi* (III, 18); next *lachhī* (III, 14), finally *lachchhī* (III, 24, 26). *KṚṢṆAM* becomes first *kṛṇam* (III, 6) or *kaṇam* (II, 5), and then *kaṇham* (III, 23). *SPASHTAM* becomes first *pashtaṃ* (III, 3) or *pushṭam* (II, 4), then *phushṭam* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭam* (III, 8); or *pushṭam* may become *puṭam* (III, 8), then *puṭham* (III, 11), finally *puṭṭham* (III, 24, 26). *STHITAH* becomes first *thitaḥ* (III, 3), then *ṭhitaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *ṭhitaḥ* (II, 10), finally *ṭhito* (II, 1). *VIDYĀ* first becomes *vilā* (III, 5), then *vijā* (III, 16), finally *vijjā* (III, 24, 27). *JIHVA* becomes first *jihā* (III, 1), then *jibhā* (III, 21), finally *jibbhā* (III, 24, 26). *VĀHYAH* becomes first *vāhaḥ* (III, 1), then *vājhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vājjaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vājjaḥ* (II, 3), next *vājjaḥ* (II, 10), finally *vājjo* (II, 1).

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chaṇḍa's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement. To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherency.

3, ANUSVĀRA.

The anusvāra is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prākṛit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H. C. I, 23—30. Vr. IV, 12—17). It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit; but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15); or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

4, VISARGA.

The visarga in the older Prākṛit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *r*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e. g.*, in the nominative singular, that to *r* in *puraṇapī* (compare H. C. II, 179).

5, NOUNS.

The older Prākṛit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2); but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).^{*} The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns:

Singular.	Nom. <i>o</i> , <i>e</i> (II, 10) or—	Plural.	— (I, 11) or <i>no</i> (I, 12).
	Acc. <i>am</i> (I, 3)		<i>o</i> or — (I 11, 15), <i>no</i> (I, 12)
	Intr. <i>ina</i> or <i>nā</i> (I, 3)		<i>hi</i> (<i>him</i>) (I, 7).
	Abl. <i>ā</i> , <i>to</i> , <i>tu</i> , <i>hinto</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 12, 16)		<i>hinto</i> (I, 8).
	Gen. <i>ssa</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 13)		<i>na</i> , <i>ha</i> (<i>nam</i> , <i>ham</i>) (I, 5).
	Loc. <i>e</i> , <i>mmi</i> (I, 14)		<i>su</i> (<i>sum</i>) (I, 3).

N. B.—The forms given after “or” belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom., instr., abl. singular and acc. plural and *e* of the loc. sing. which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing. and voc. plur. are nowhere noticed by Chanda, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prākṛit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom. and acc. plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom. and acc. plural, where they add the suffix *ni* (I, 3).

N. B.—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chanda indicates by the term *lingāt parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

* It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of O.D. that they insert the word *sapta* “seven” in the commentary to sūtra I, 3. Chanda had very properly omitted it, as sūtra II, 13 shows that Prākṛit has only six cases.

In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3. II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4). Thus in the acc. sing. *deva* + *am* = *devam* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggim* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenum* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1); *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); inst. sg. *deva* + *ina* = *devena* (II, 1); *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhic* (II, 4); loc. sg. *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhio* (II, 4); inst. pl. *deva* + *hi* = *devehi* (II, 4); loc. plur. *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc. See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chāṇḍa's nominal declension.

Prākṛit has only three declensions; viz. those ending in *a* (or feminine *ā*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *ī* and *ū*). Nouns ending in *ī* or *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in *ī* and *ū* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chāṇḍa. Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11). Nouns originally ending in *ri* are nowhere noticed by Chāṇḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ri* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *āra*, as in Pāli and the later Prākṛit. There is one exceptional declension; viz. that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16).

a, Declension in *a*.

The nom. sing. ends in *o* or *e* masc., e. g., *devo* or *deve*; *ā* fem., e. g., *gangā*; *am* neut., e. g., *kulam*.

The acc. sing. ends in *am* masc. and neut., e. g., *devam*, *kulam*; *ām* fem., e. g., *gangām*.

The instr. sing. ends in *ena* masc. and neut., e. g., *devena*, *kuleṇa*; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ā* or *āto* or *ātu* or *āhinto* masc. and neut., e. g., *devā* or *devāto* or *devātu* or *devāhinto*, *kulā*, etc.; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *taḥ*). It is not noticed by Chāṇḍa, because it is not technically a declensional form. For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p. 116). But its existence in the Aṛsha is guaranteed by its existence in Pāli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prākṛit (H. C. III, 8); also by the existence in the Aṛsha itself of the pronominal forms *maṭṭo*, *taṭṭo* (I, 24, 28).

The gen. sing. ends in *assa* masc. and neut., e. g., *devassa*. Curiously enough the genitive sing. of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sūtra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists; and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chaṇḍa. Fem. *de*, e. g., *gangāde*.

The loc. sing. ends in *e* or *ammi* masc. and neut., e. g., *deve* or *devammi*, *kule* or *kulammi*; *de* fem., e. g., *gangāde*.

The nom. plur. ends in *ā* masc., e. g., *devā*; *do* or *āū* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāu*, *gangā*; neut. *āni* or *āni*, e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāni*.

The acc. plur. ends in *e* masc., e. g., *deve*; *do* or *āū* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāū*, *gangā*; *āni* or *āni* neut., e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāni*.

The instr. plur. ends in *ehi* or *ehim* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devehi*, or *devehim*, *kulehi* or *kulehim*; *āhi* or *āhim* fem., e. g., *gangāhi* or *gangāhim*.

The gen. plur. ends in *āna* or *āha* or *ānam* or *āham* (II, 15); e. g., *devāna* or *devāha* or *devānam* or *devāham*, *gangāna*, etc., *kulāna*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *esu* or *esum* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devesu* or *devesum*, *kulesu* or *kulesum*; *āsu* or *āsum* fem., e. g., *gangāsu* or *gangāsum*.

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Pāli and later Prākṛit or Arddha-Māgadhī forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in *a*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	* Arsha.	Prākṛit.*
Sing. Nom.	देवः	देवो	देवो or देवे	देवो or देवे†
Voc.	हे देव	हे देव	हे देव or हे देवो	हे देव or हे देवो
Acc.	देवं	देवं	देवं	देवं
Instr.	देवेन	देवेन	देवेन	देवेन
Abl.	देवात्	देवा	देवा	देवा
	देवतः	देवतो	देवतो	देवतो
	—	देवतो or •वातु	देवतो or •वातु	देवातो or •वातु
Gen.	देवस्य	देवस्य	देवस्य	देवस्य
Loc.	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
	—	देवणि or •णि	देवणि	देवणि
Plur. Nom.	देवाः	देवा	देवा	देवा
Voc.	—	—	—	—

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar.

† Arddha-Māgadhī; see H. C. IV, 287.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Acc.	देवान्	देवे	देवे *	देवा or देवे
Instr.	देवैः	देवेभि or देवेहि	देवेहि or •हि	देवहि or हि or •हि
Abl.	देवेभ्यः	देवेभि or हि	देवेहितो	देवेहितो or •हुतो
	—	—	—	देवाहितो or •हुतो
Gen.	देवानां	देवानं	देवाणं or देवाण	देवाणं or देवाण
	—	—	देवाणं or •ण	देवाणं or •ण
Loc.	देवेषु	देवेसु	देवेसु or •सु	देवेसु or •सु

Feminines in *ā*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
Voc.	गंगे	गंगे	गंगा or गंगे	गंगा or गंगे
Acc.	गंगां	गंगं *	गंगां	गंगं
Instr.	गंगया	गंगाय (or loc. गंगायं)	गंगाए	गंगाए or •ए or •ण*
Abl. } Gen. }	गंगायाः			
Loc.	गंगायां			
Plur. Nom.	गंगाः			
Voc.		गंगायो	गंगायो or गंगाउ	गंगायो or गंगाउ
Acc.	गंगाभिः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहि or हिं	गंगाहिं or •हिं or •हिं
Instr.		गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहितो	गंगाहितो or •हुतो.
Abl.	गंगाभ्यः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहितो	गंगाहितो or •हुतो.
Gen. }	गंगानां	गंगानं	गंगाणं or गंगाण	गंगाणं or गंगाण
	—	—	गंगाणं or •ण	गंगाणं or •ण
Loc.	गंगासु	गंगासु	गंगासु or •सुं	गंगासु or •सुं

* Or abl. = abl. masc., exc. the forms in *ā* and *āhi*; see H. C. III. 126. 127.

Neuters in <i>a</i> .				
Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं
Acc.				
Voc.	कुल	कुल	कुल	कुल
Plur. Nom.	कुलानि	कुलानि or कुला	कुलानि or •णि	कुलाणि or •लार् or •लार्
Voc.				
Acc.				

The remainder like masc. in *a*.

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*.

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis*; thus:—

The nom. sing. ends in *i* and *u*; e. g., masc. *aggi, guru*; fem. *buddhi, dhenu*; neut. *dahi, mahu*.

The acc. sing. ends in *im* and *um*; e. g., masc. *aggim, gurum*; fem. *buddhim, dhenum*; neut. *dahim, mahum*.

The instr. sing. ends in *inā* and *unā* masc. and neut., e. g., *agginā, gurunā* and *dahinā, mahunā*; *ie* and *ue* fem., e. g., *buddhiē, dhenūē*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ino* and *uno* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo, guruno* and *dahino, mahuno*; *ie* and *ue* fem., e. g., *buddhiē, dhenūē*. There is also the quasi-abl. in *ito* and *uto*; e. g., *aggito, guruto*, etc.

The gen. sing. ends in *ino* or *issa* and *uno* or *ussa* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo* or *aggiṣsa, guruno* or *gurussa* and *dahino* or *dahiṣsa, mahuno* or *mahuṣsa*; *ie* and *ue* fem., e. g., *buddhiē, dhenūē*.

The loc. sing. ends in *inmi* and *ummi* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggimmi, gurummi* and *dahimmi, mahummi*; *ie* and *ue* fem., e. g., *buddhiē, dhenūē*.

The nom. and acc. plur. end in *ayo* or *ī* or *ino* and *avo* or *ū* or *uno* masc., e. g., *aggayo* or *aggi* or *aggiṇo, guravo* or *guru* or *guruno*; *ī* or *to* or *iu* and *ū* or *uo* or *ūu* fem., e. g., *buddhi* or *buddhiu, dhenū* or *dhenūo* or *dhenūu*. The neuter is not noticed; probably *ini* and *uni*; e. g., *dahini, mahuni*; or possibly like the masculine, *dahi* or *dahino, mahu* or *mahuno*. The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chāṇḍa, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayaḥ, avaḥ*, and would come under his general rule I, 3. Their existence is guaranteed by the Pāli on the one side, and the later Prākṛit on the other. (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom. and acc. form in *to* and *uo*, which is the same as *ayo* and *avo*, with *ay, av* contracted to *ī, ū* respectively.)

The instr. plur. ends in *ihī* or *ihim*, and *uhi* or *uhim*; e. g., masc. *aggihi* or *aggihim*, *guruhi* or *guruhim*; fem. *buddhihi* or *buddhihim*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhim*; neut. *dahihi* or *dahihim*, *mahuhi* or *mahuhim*.

The abl. plur. ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*; e. g., masc. *aggihinto*, *guruhinto*; fem. *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*; neut. *dahihinto*, *mahuhinto*.

The gen. plur. ends in *īna* or *īha* or *īṇam* or *īham*, and *ūna* or *ūha* or *ūṇam* or *ūham*; e. g., masc. *aggiṇa* or *aggiṇam* or *aggiha* or *aggiham*, *guruṇa* or *guruṇam* or *guruha* or *guruham*; fem. *buddhiṇa* or *buddhiha*, etc., *dhenūna* or *dhenūha*, etc.; neut. *dahiṇa* or *dahiha*, etc., *mahūna* or *mahūha*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *isu* or *isum* and *usu* or *usum*; masc. *aggisu* or *aggisum*, *gurusu* or *gurusum*; fem. *buddhisu* or *buddhisum*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusum*; neut. *dahisu* or *dahisum*, *mahusu* or *mahusum*.

To the voc. sing. and plur. the same remark applies as to the voc. of the *a*-declension.

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS., regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four:

(1). In sūtra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *i* and *u*. This is almost certainly false; for (a) even in the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom. sing. neuter ends in short *i* and *u*; and (b) what is more important, there is no sūtra in Chaṇḍa's grammar to account for the long *i* and *u* of the nom. sing., as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension that Chaṇḍa enumerates in sūtra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*samskritavad vibhaktayaḥ*), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Now by sūtra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *īḥ* or *ūḥ* is omitted, but there is no sūtra anywhere in Chaṇḍa to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sūtra II, 5 there occurs the word *riśiḥ*, the Prākṛit form of which in all MSS. is given as *īśi* (not *īś*); again in that very sūtra II, 10 one example is *vati*, as all MSS. read, for Skr. *vr̥tīḥ**; again in sūtra II, 17 we have *maṭi* and *gati*, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Pāli, which Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr. *paṭi*, as O D have it, but = Skr. *vr̥tīḥ*.

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth ; for there the nom. sing. also ends in *i* and *u* (see Minayef, pp. 64, 66, 69). Accordingly I have restored the short *i* and *u* in the nom. sing. throughout.

..(2). It is very similar with the instr., abl., and loc. plural. Here all MSS. read long *i* and *u* before the suffixes *hi*, *hinto* and *su*. But as Chaṇḍa has no sūtra to enjoin the lengthening of *i* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prākṛit they were not long, as in the later Prākṛit, but short, as (optionally) in Pāli (see Minayef *ibid.*, also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chaṇḍa places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sūtra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction ; and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl. plural from sūtra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that *aggihi*, *aggihinto* and *aggisu* be correct forms ; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sūtra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *i* ; but let the forms be *aggihi*, *aggihinto*, *aggisu*, then only *aggihinto* is unlike Skr. *agnibhyaḥ*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggihi* is like Skr. *agnibhiḥ* (*h* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggisu* like Skr. *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18) ; hence these two forms will come under I, 3. This is precisely what we find Chaṇḍa to have actually done ; it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been. Accordingly I have restored the short *i* throughout in those three cases.*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *i* and *u* are really lengthened to *i* and *u* in Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit, as in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. singular and nom. and acc. plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chaṇḍa, by sūtra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhi*, *dhenū* (not *buddhie*, *dhenue*).

(3). The acc. singular of feminine nouns in *i* and *u*, as well as of feminine nouns in *a*, has a long termination ; thus *gāṅgā*, *naṁ*, *vaṁ*. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though C and D read *gāṅgā* in I, 3, B reads *gāṅgā* (A omits it) ; on the other hand C and D read *naṁ* in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prākṛit, but even Pāli (see Minayef, pp. 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chaṇḍa were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prākṛit ; and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chaṇḍa enumerates them under

* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS. D the short *i* and *u* occur three times ; viz. *buddhiḥ*, *guruhiḥ* in I, 3 and *guruhinto* in I, 8. They may be mere clerical errors.

sūtra I, 8, makes in the same direction; for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sūtra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sūtra II, 16, where Chanḍa gives the declension of the noun *gávī* "cow", the two MSS. C D again read *gávīm* in the acc. sing. (A B omit it); this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc. sing. *tvám* or *tám* and *mám* (see remarks, p. xlv).

(4). All MSS. assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*; thus *aggie*, *gurue*. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sūtra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanḍa's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.

Masculines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अग्निः	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नी
Voc.	अग्ने	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नी or अग्नि
Acc.	अग्निं	अग्निं	अग्निं	अग्निं
Instr.	अग्निना	अग्निना	अग्निणा	अग्निणा
Abl.	{ अग्नेः अग्नितः	{ अग्निना अग्निस्रा or ०न्हा	{ अग्निषो —	{ अग्निषो अग्नीहितो
		{ अग्नितो —	{ अग्नितो —	{ अग्नितो अग्नीषो or अग्नीउ
Gen.	अग्नेः	अग्निनो or ०स्त	अग्निषो or ०स्त	अग्निषो or अग्निस्त
Loc.	अग्नी	अग्निक्षि or ०न्दि	अग्निक्षि	अग्निक्षि
Plur. Nom.	{ अग्नयः — —	{ अग्नयो अग्नी —	{ अग्नयो अग्नी अग्निषो	{ अग्नीषो or अग्नीउ अग्नी अग्निषो
Voc.				
Acc.	अग्नीन्	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	अग्निभिः	{ अग्निभि or ०दि अग्नीभि or ०दि	{ अग्निहि or ०दि —	{ — अग्नीहि or ०दि

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Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Abl.	अग्निभ्यः	{ अग्निमि or •हि अग्नीमि or •हि	अग्निहिमो —	— अग्नीहिमो or •हुतो
Gen.	अग्नीनां	अग्नीनं	{ अग्नीणं or •ह अग्नीहं or •ह	अग्नीणं or •ह (deest)*
Loc.	अग्निषु	{ अग्निषु अग्नीषु	अग्निषु or •हुं —	— अग्नीषु or •हुं

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	बुद्धिः	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धी
Voc.	बुद्धे	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि or बुद्धी
Acc.	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं
Instr.	बुद्ध्या	{ बुद्धिया (abl. loc. also बुद्ध्या, loc. बुद्धिं, बुद्धां, बुद्धिं, बुद्धो)	बुद्धीर	{ बुद्धीर or बुद्धीर बुद्धीया or बुद्धीय
Abl. }	बुद्ध्याः or			
Gen. }	बुद्धेः			
Loc. }	बुद्ध्यां or बुद्धौ			
Plur. Nom.	{ बुद्ध्यः	{ बुद्धी	बुद्धी	बुद्धी
Voc.		बुद्धियो	बुद्धीयो or बुद्धीउ	बुद्धीयो or बुद्धीउ
Acc.	बुद्धीः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	बुद्धिभिः	{ बुद्धिभि or •हि बुद्धीभि or •हि	बुद्धिहि or •हिं —	— बुद्धीहि or •हिं
Abl.	बुद्धिभ्यः	{ बुद्धिभि or •हि बुद्धीभि or •हि	बुद्धिहिमो —	— बुद्धीहिमो or •हुता
Gen.	बुद्धीनां	बुद्धीनं	{ बुद्धीणं or •ह बुद्धीहं or •ह	बुद्धीणं or •ह (deest)*

* See H. C. IV, 300.

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Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Loc.	बुद्धि	बुद्धि बुद्धी	बुद्धि or बुं —	— बुद्धी or •बुं

Neuters in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	दधि	दधि	दधि (acc. दधिं)	दधि or दधिं or दधिं (voc. only दधि)
Plur. do.	दधीनि	दधी or दधीनि	दधीनि or •धि	दधीणि or दधीर् or दधीई

The remainder, like masculines in *i*.

Masculines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākrit.
Sing. Nom.	गुहः	गुह	गुह	गुह
Voc.	गुरो	गुह	गुह	गुह or गुह
Acc.	गुहं	गुहं	गुहं	गुहं
Instr.	गुहणा	गुहणा	गुहणा	गुहणा
Abl.	गुरोः	गुहणा गुहणा or •णा	गुहणो —	गुहणो गुहणितो
	गुहतः	गुहणो —	गुहणो —	गुहणो गुहणो or गुहण
Gen.	गुरोः	गुहणो गुहणा	गुहणो गुहणा	गुहणो गुहणा
	गुरौ	गुहणो or •णि	गुहणि	गुहणि
Loc.	गुरौ	गुहणो or •णि	गुहणि	गुहणि
Plur. Nom.	गुहः	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो or गुहणो or •ण
	गुहवः	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो गुह
Voc.	गुहवः	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो गुह	गुहणो गुह

* Like बुद्धी, see Minayef, p. 69.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Instr.	गुहमिः	{ गुहमि or ०हि * गुहमि or ०हि	{ गुहहि or ०हि —	{ — * गुहहि or ०हि
Abl.	गुहभ्यः	{ गुहमि or ०हि गुहमि or ०हि	{ गुहहितो —	{ — गुहहितो or ०हुतो
Gen.	गुह्यां	गुह्यं	{ गुह्यं or गुह्य गुह्यं or गुह्य	{ गुह्यं or गुह्य deest†
Loc.	गुह्यु	{ गुह्यु गुह्यु	{ गुह्यु or ०हुं —	{ — गुह्यु or ०हुं

Feminines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	धेनुः	धेनु	धेनु	धेनु
Voc.	धेनो	धेनु	धेनु	धेनु or धेनु
Acc.	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेनुं
Instr.	धेन्या	* धेनुया	धेनूर	{ धेनूर or धेनूर धेनूया or धेनूया
Abl. }	धेन्याः or धेनोः			
Gen. }				
Loc.	धेन्यां or धेनौ			
Plur. Nom.	{ धेनवः	{ धेनू	धेनू	धेनु
Voc.		{ धेनुयो	धेनूयो or धेनुउ	धेनूयो or धेनुउ
Acc.	धेनूः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	धेनुमिः	{ धेनुमि or ०हि धेनुमि or ०हि	{ धेनुहि or ०हि —	{ — धेनुहि or ०हि
Abl.	धेनुभ्यः	{ धेनुमि or ०हि धेनुमि or ०हि	{ धेनुहितो —	{ — धेनुहितो or ०हुतो
Gen.	धेनूनां	धेनूनां	{ धेनूनां or धेनूना धेनूनां or धेनूना	{ धेनूनां or धेनूना deest†

* Like अतुहि, see Kuhn, p. 82.

† See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	धेनुषु * { धेनसु धेनूषु	धेनसु —	धेनुसु or ०सु —	— धेनुसु or ०सु

Neuters in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	सधु	सधु	सऊ (acc. सऊं)	सऊ or सऊं or सऊँ (voc. सऊ).
Plur. do.	सधूनि	सधू or सधूनि	सङ्गनि or ०णि	सङ्गणि or सङ्गं or सङ्गई

The remainder, like masculines in *u*.

Masculine nouns in *i* and *ú* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting the nom. sing. which ends in *i* or *ú* respectively.*

Feminine nouns in *i* and *ú* are declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *i* and *ú* wherever the latter have short *i* and *u*.

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	नदी	नदी	नई *	नई
Voc.	नदि	नदि	नर	नर
Acc.	नदीं	नदि or नदियं	नईं	नईं
Plur. Instr.	नदीभिः	नदीभि or ०हि	नईहि or ०हिं	नईहि or ०हिं
Abl.	नदीभ्यः	नदीभि or ०हि	नईंहितो	नईंहितो or ०सुतो
Loc.	नदीषु	नदीसु	नईसु or ०सु	नईसु or नईसु

The remainder, as in feminines in *i*.

Feminines in *ú*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	वधूः	वधू	वङ्ग	वङ्ग
Voc.	वधु	वधु	वऊ	वऊ
Acc.	वधूँ	वधुं	वङ्गं	वङ्गं

* Thus *nāni* I, 24, *east* III, 18, *saṃvatsarā* in O D III, 6.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Instr.	वधूभिः	वधूभि or •धि	वद्धधि or •धिं	वद्धधि or •धिं
Abl.	वधूभ्यः	वधूभि or •धि	वद्धधितो	वद्धधितो or •धुंतो
Loc.	वधूषु	वधूषु	वद्धधु or •धुं	वद्धधु or •धुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*.

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in sūtra II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders; viz., *gávo* masc. and *gávī* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *nat* "river".

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	(गौः)	गावौ*	गावी	गावी or गाई†
Acc.	(गं)	गाविं	गावीं	गाई
Plur. Nom.	{ (गावः)	{ गाविथो*	{ गावीञ्ची or •उ	{ गावीञ्ची† or गाईञ्ची or गाईउ
Acc.				
		गावौ*	गावी	गाई

The remainder, like feminines in *i*.

6, PRONOUNS.

a, Personal Pronouns.

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are *म* and *वन्न* (= Sanskrit *वन्न*), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Páli, Prákrit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base; viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *majjha*. The last two, which occur in the Arsha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Páli

* *Gávī* nom. sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and *gáviyo* nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and *gávī* in Kachch. II, 1, 23 (Senart, p. 44).

† *Gávī* in H. C. II, 174 and *gávī* in H. C. I, 158 and *gávī* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *māhya*, in Sanskrit. In the *Ārsha* these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases ; but in the later *Prākṛit* they have a nearly regular declension.

The *Ārsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *ḍhe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc. plural. It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*.

Declension.

Cases.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. Nom.	{ अहं	अहं	अहं	अहं or अहयं
	{ —	—	—	अन्हि or अन्नि
Acc.	{ मां	मं	मां	मं
	{ —	मसं	—	मसं or मिसं, etc.
Instr.	{ मया	मया	मए	मए or मइ
	{ —	—	मे	मे or मि
	{ —	—	—	ममए, etc.
Abl.	मत्	{ मया	मइतो	मइतो
		{ —	—	ममतो or ममादो, etc.
		{ —	—	मइतो or मइादो, etc.
		{ —	—	मउभातो or मउभाादो, [etc.
Gen.	{ मे	मे	मे	मे, etc.
	{ मम	मम or मसं	मम	मम
	{ —	—	मइ	मइ or मइं
	{ —	मय्यं	मउभा	मउभा or मउभं
	{ —	अय्यं	—	अय्य or अय्यं
Loc.	{ मयि	मयि	मयि	मइ, etc.
	{ —	—	—	ममयि
	{ —	—	—	मइयि
	{ —	—	—	मउभायि
	{ —	—	—	अय्ययि
	{ —	—	—	अय्ययि

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Plur. Nom.	{ वयं —	{ वयं वन्हे	{ वयं वन्हे	{ वयं वन्हे or वन्हो or वन्ह
Acc.	{ वस्मान् मः	{ वन्हे (or वन्हाकं) मो	{ वन्हे मो	{ वन्हे or वन्हो or वन्ह मो
Instr.	वस्माभिः	वन्हेभि or •हि	वन्हेहि or •हिं	{ वन्हेहि or •हिं वन्हाहि or •हिं, etc.
Abl.	{ वस्मात् — — —	{ वन्हेभि or •हि — — —	{ वन्हेहिं or वन्ह हिंतो — —	{ (वन्हेहिंतो?) or •हुंतो वन्हाहिंतो or •हुंतो (ममेहिंतो?) or •हुंतो ममाहिंतो or •हुंतो
Gen.	{ मः वस्माकं — — — — —	{ मो वस्माकं or वन्हाकं — — — — वन्हं	{ मो वन्हाणं or •ण वन्हाणं or •ह — — — — वन्हं	{ मो or म्हे वन्हाणं or म् वन्हाणं ममाणं or •ण ममाणं or •ण ममभाणं or •ण वन्हं or वन्ह
Loc.	{ वन्हासु — — — —	{ वन्हेसु — — — —	{ वन्हेसु or •सुं — — — —	{ वन्हेसु or वन्हसु ममेसु or ममसु महेसु or मवसु मउभेसु or मउभसु ; also वन्हासु or •सुं, [etc.]

b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*). In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively; but in the Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākṛit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base :

tu or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tujjha* or *tubbha* or *tumbha*. The first four are probably modifications of *tva*, and the others, of *tumha*. The *Arsha* possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in isolated cases; absent are only *tu*, *tuva*, *tuyha*. In the later *Prākṛit*, however, they are capable of almost regular declension.

The *Arsha* possesses also an indeclinable form *bhe* which may be used in any of the six cases (II, 26). Hemachandra confines its use to the instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genitive plural (H. C. III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100).

The second personal pronoun in *Chāṇḍa's* *Prākṛit* is especially deserving of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity. I mean the forms of the nom. acc. and loc. sing., which, just as in *Pāli*, may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv*. The MSS. are on this point in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the *Prākṛit* forms. This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case. The readings are the following:

A त्वं । मं । तं ॥

B त्वं । मं । तं । मं ॥

C त्वं । मं । तं । मं ॥

D त्वं । तं । मं । मं ॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show. The Revisionists, mistaking *tvām* and *mām* for Sanskrit, were naturally surprised to miss in A the corresponding form मं; so they quietly added मं in B and C. Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper order, they change the latter to *tvām*, *tam*, *mām*, *mām* in D. This no doubt is the correct order; provided that *tvām* and *mām* are really Sanskrit.* But the truth is that they are not Sanskrit. Indeed, one of the indications that they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C. On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but *Prākṛit*, it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order; moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *mām*. The order of the forms of the nom. plural (*vayam*, *tuhme*, *ahme*) clearly shows *Chāṇḍa's* method. *Vayam* is a tatsama; *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas; the tatsama form corresponding to *vayam* is *yūyam*, but that does not exist in *Prākṛit*. *Chāṇḍa's* method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the tadbhava. Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or "personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed to the second and third; but they begin at the other end. Hence with them the second personal pronoun always precedes the first. Hence the change in D to *tvām tam, mām mām*.

we find that *tvām, mām* is the tatsama pair; the tadbhava pair should be *tām, mām*, but *mām* is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvām, mām, tām*. That *tām* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if *tām* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mām* would be unaccountable; while if *tām* was the original reading, its change into *tām* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvām* for Sanskrit and *tām* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prākṛit spelling. But if *tvām* is a Prākṛit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tām*, not *tām*. And there is this to be said for the form *tām*, that it agrees with the general law of Chāṇḍa's Prākṛit, of preserving the long termination in the acc. singular (see the remarks on p. xxxvii). Moreover if *tām* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chāṇḍa under sūtra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvām* to be fairly called a *samskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sūtra assigned to it; as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tām* into *tām*. It being thus established, that *tvām* is the tatsama form of the acc. singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom. and loc. singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvām, aham*; the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sūtra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sūtras (e. g. in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayi, mayi*; the tadbhava is *tayi*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *aham* and *mayi*.

Declension.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Nom.	त्वं	त्वं	त्वं or तं	तं or तुं
	—	तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	—	—	—	तुष
Acc.	त्वां	त्वं or तं	त्वां or तां	तं or तुं
	—	तवं or तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	—	—	—	तुष
	—	—	तुष	तुष or तुमे
Instr.	त्वया	त्वया or तया	तय or तय	तय or तय
	—	—	ते or तुमे	ते or तुमे
	—	—	—	तुमय or तुमय

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Abl.	तत्	तया or तया	तरतो	तरतो
		—	तुमातो	तुमतो or तुमातो
		—	तुमाहितो or ०हिं	तुमाहितो or ०हिं
		—	—	तुवतो or तुवातो, etc.
		—	—	तुवतो or तुवातो, etc.
		—	—	तुन्मतो or तुन्मातो, etc.
		—	—	तुन्मतो or तुन्मातो, etc.
		—	—	तुन्मतो or तुन्मातो, etc.
		—	—	तुन्मतो or तुन्मातो, etc.
		—	—	तुन्मतो or तुन्मातो, etc.
Gen.	ते	ते	ते	ते or दे or दि or ए or इ
		तव	तव	तुव or तुम, etc.
		—	तुव	तुव or तुव
		—	तुवमा	तुमा or तुवमा
		—	तुव	तुव or तुव
		—	—	तुव or तुव
		—	—	तुव or तुव
		—	—	तुव or तुव
		—	—	तुव or तुव
		—	—	तुव or तुव
Loc.	तयि	तयि or तयि	तयि or तयि	तर or तुमि, etc.
		—	—	तुमे or तुमि or तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
		—	—	तुमि
Plur. Nom.	तूय	तूये	तूये or तूये	तूये or तूये
		—	—	तूये or तूये
		—	—	तूये
		—	—	तूये or तूये

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Acc.	वः यस्मान्	वो	वो	वो
		तुम्हे (or तुम्हाकं)	तुम्हे	तुम्हे
		—	तुम्हे	तुम्हे or तुम्भ
		—	—	तुम्हे or उम्हे
Instr.	युष्माभिः	—	—	तुम्भो
		तुम्हेभि or •हि	तुम्हेहि or •हिं	तुम्हेहि or उम्हेहि
		—	(तुम्हेहि or •हिं?)	तुम्हेहि or उम्हेहि
		—	—	तुम्हेहिं or उम्हेहिं
Abl.	युष्मात्	—	—	तुम्भोहिं
		तुम्हेभि or •हि	तुम्हेहिंतो	तुम्हेहिंतो or •हुंतो*
		—	—	तुम्हाहिंतो or •हुंतो
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्हा*, etc.
Gen.	यस्माकं	—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्हा*, etc.
		—	—	तुम्भो or तुम्भा*, etc.
		वो	वो	वो
		तुम्हाकं	{ तुम्हाणं or •ण तुम्हाहं or •ह }	{ तुम्हाणं or •ण तुम्हाहं तुम्हाणं or •ण तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाणं or •ण तुम्भाणं or •ण तुम्भाणं or •ण तुम्भ or तुम्भ तुम्भ or तुम्भ तुम्भ or तुम्भ

* Also उम्हेहिंतो or •हुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or •हुंतो, उम्हेहिंतो or •हुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or •हुंतो।

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Arsha.	Prākṛit.
Loc.	दृग्भावे	तुम्हे	तुम्हे or •ह	तुम्हे or तुम्ह*
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह.
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह.
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्हे or तुम्ह

b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are *tad*, *etad* and *idam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *ima* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chanda, nom. sing. neuter *taṃ* (II, 17); nom. plur. masc. *te* (I, 31); instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. fem. *tā* (I, 9); gen. plur. com. gen. *tānaṃ* or *tāhaṃ* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. *sa* (II, 17, Skr. *sa*), fem. *sā* (II, 1, Skr. *sā*); abl. sing. fem. *tassā* (B C D, I, 3, Skr. *tasyāḥ*), gen. sing. or plur. com. gen. *se* (I, 17); gen. plur. masc. or neut. *tesaṃ* (Skr. *tesāṃ*) or *tesim* (I, 3); loc. sing. masc. or neut. *tasmim* (Skr. *tasmin*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Pāli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesim* (see Minayef's Pāli Grammar, pp. 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *ti* or *tī*; viz., instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. *tī* (I, 9) and abl. sing. *tissā* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskrit nom. sing. masc. *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen. general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *ima*, only the regular form *imā* of the nom. sing. fem. (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chanda; viz., the irregular Sanskrit abl. sing. masc. or neut. *jamhā* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

* Also तुम्हाय, तम्हाय, तुम्हा, तम्हा, तुम्हाय, तम्हाय; also every form with final •ह.

and the irregular Sanskrit nom. singular neuter *kim* (I, 23) and the regular gen. plural *kānam* or *kāham* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are *tāva* "so much", *jāva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *tāvat*, *yāvat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *tāva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tā* (but not *jā*, for *jāva*). The Pāli has only *tāva*, *jāva*, but not *tā* (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prākṛit has both pairs complete, *tāva* and *jāva*, *tā* and *jā* (II. C. I, 271). Pāli has also a form *jāvaṃ* (apparently really a nom. sing., like *maḥam*, *bhavaṃ*); the Aṛsha probably had both *tāvaṃ* and *jāvaṃ*; at least they occur in the Jaina Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī (see Weber's *Fragment*, p. 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing. masc., *kaṭṭare* "which of two" (II, 10, Skr. *kataraḥ*).

7, NUMERALS.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanda, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *ṇham* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *eka* "one", *pancha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e. g., *deva*); *di* "two" (Skr. *dvi*) and *ti* "three" (Skr. *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e. g., *aggi*); and *chatur* "four" (Skr. *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e. g., *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit; viz., *do* or *duve* or *ve* (Skr. *dvau*, *dve*, Pāli *dve*, *duve*, Prākṛit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *donṇi*, *veṇṇi*) "two"; *chattāro* (acc. also *chaturō*), *chattasso*, *chattāri* (so also in Pāli; Skr. *chatvāraḥ*, *chaturāḥ*, *chatusraḥ*, *chatvāri*; Prāk. *chattāro*, *chattāro*, *chattāri*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally :

6. *chha* (III, 14), Skr. *ṣaṭ*, Pā. *chha*, Prāk. *chha*.
10. *daha* (III, 14), Skr. *daśa*, Pā. *dasā*, Pr. *dasā* or *dāha*.
13. *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skr. *trayodaśa*, Pā. *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr. *teraha*.
16. *solasa* (III, 21), Skr. *śoḍaśa*, Pā. *solasa*, Pr. *solaha* (?)
20. *viśā* (III, 32), Skr. *viṃśati*, Pā. *viśati* or *viśam*, Pr. *viśā*.
30. *tiśā* (I, 6), Skr. *triṃśat*, Pā. *tiṃśati* or *tiśam*, Pr. *tiśā*.
50. *paññā* (III, 32), Skr. *pañcāśat*, Pā. *paññāsaṃ*, Pr. *paññāsā*.
55. *pañapaññasa* (III, 33), Skr. *pañcapañcāśat*, Pā. *pañcapaññāsa*,

Pr. *pañapaññā*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, viz. :—

6th *chhattho* (III, 26), Skr. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pā. *chhattho* or *satttho* (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. *chhattho*.

"6 fold" *chhakkaṃ* (III, 3), Skr. *ṣaṭkaṃ*, Pā. *chhakkaṃ*, Pr. *chhakkaṃ*.

8, THE VERB.

Chāṇḍa's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied; and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Pāli and Sanskrit.

The old Prākṛit, like the Pāli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and ātmanepada forms; thus parasm. *gacchhathi* "he goes" (II, 4); ātm. *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS. vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var. lect.*); sometimes all give the ending *e* of the ātmanepada (e. g., *vijjate* in III, 11); sometimes only one or the other (e. g., *disate* in II, 5, *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *i* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the ātmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chāṇḍa has no sūtra to allow for the change of the ātmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prākṛit; its beginnings are already to be found in Pāli (Kachch. III, 4, 37. p. 263); and it may have occasionally occurred in the Aṛsha; it certainly *did* occur in the Aṛsha in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sūtra (II, 25); but the absence of any such sūtra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sūtra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun; but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural; but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing. *bhaṇāmi* (I, 20, 22), *vemmi* (III, 3); 2nd sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18); 3rd sing. *eti* (I, 12), *acchhathi* (II, 1), *gacchhathi* (II, 4, 10), *bhāti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39); 1st plur. *bhaṇāmo* (II, 27); 3rd plur. *jalanti* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing. *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing. *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur. *nisimetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur. *rakkhantu* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalanti* (Skr. *jvalanti*), etc. are of the 1st class; *eti*, *bhāti*, *vemmi*

(Skr. *vachmi*) of the IInd class ; *lijjante* (Skr. *liyante*) is of the IVth class ; *nisāmetha* (Skr. *niśamayata*) of the Xth class.

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *jjā* if preceded by a vowel, or to *ijja* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25). Thus 3rd sing. pres. *disato* for Skr. *drīṣyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr. *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1); again *najjate* for Skr. *jñāyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *vāhijjate* for Skr. *vādhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25).*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2nd plur. imper. *nisāmetha* for Skr. *niśamayata*.

As to the participles, see the following section.

Conjugation of *bhaṇ* "speak".

Present tense.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
Sing. 1st	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि or भणमि
2nd	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि
3rd	भणति	भणति	भणति	भणइ
Plur. 1st	भणामः	भणाम	भणामो	{ भणामो or भणमो भणाम or भणम, etc.
2nd	भणथ	भणथ	भणथ	भणइ or भणित्थ
3rd	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति.

Imperative.

Sing. 2nd	भण	भण	भण	भण
3rd	भणतु	भणतु	भणतु	भणउ
Plur. 2nd	भणत	भणथ	भणथ	भणइ
3rd	भणन्तु	भणन्तु	भणन्तु	भणन्तु

Passive.

Sing. 3rd	भण्यते	{ भण्यते भण्णीयते —	भणते भणिज्जते	{ भणइ or भणइ भण्णीयइ or •णइ भणिज्जइ or •ज्जइ
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* MS. A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sāhiyyantam* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *jj*; the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sūtra III, 25 (*nayyate*, *vāhiyyate*); though, no doubt, sūtra III, 16 may account for the change of *yy* to *jj*.

Causal.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha.	Prākṛit.
● Sing. 3rd	भाषयति	भाषेति भाषापेति	भाषेति (भाषापेति?)	भाषेइ भाषावेइ

The following specialities may be noticed : the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho* ; e. g., *hoti* "it is" (III, 31) ; so also in Pāli (see Minayef, p. 113). Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers. sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18). The roots *grah* "take" and *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *giṇhati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "he does" (see App. B C D, III, 3).

9. SUFFIXES.

a, Participial.

a, *anta* (Skr. *at*) forms the participle present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the ātmanepada. Thus *arahanto* (II, 11) for Skr. *arhan* ; pass. *bhijjantam* (II, 25) for Skr. *bhidyamānam*.

b, *māna* forms optionally the participle present of the ātmanepada verbs ; e. g., *sāhijjamānam* (App. A, II, 25) for Skr. *sādhyamānam*.

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive ; e. g., *katam* (Skr. *kṛtam*, I, 23), *sutam* (Skr. *śrutam*, III, 2), *palātam* (Skr. *palāyitam*, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated : thus *osaritam* (Skr. *apasaritam*, II, 23), *diṭṭham* (Skr. *dṛṣṭam*, I, 27).

d, *tavva* (Skr. *tavya*) forms the participle future passive. Thus *sotavvam* (Skr. *śrotavyam*, III, 2), *kātavvam* (Skr. *kartavyam*, II, 4. III, 9, 29).

e, *ttā* or *ttu* (Skr. *tvā*) form the conjunctive participle. Thus *bhottum* (Skr. *bhuktvā*, II, 19, final anusvāra by II, 15), or, with connecting vowel *i*, *vāṇḍittā* and *vandittu* (Skr. *vanditvā*, II, 19). Sometimes *tvā* forms *chehā* and *ttu* by assimilation ; e. g., *suchchā* (Skr. *śrutvā*, II, 19) ; *kaṭṭu* (Skr. *kṛtvā*, II, 19) ; or even *ppi*, as in *kappi* (Skr. *kṛtvā*, II, 19, cf. *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃṣa, H. C. IV, 442).

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle ; e. g., *vandio* (Skr. *vanditvā*, II, 19).*

* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text. The suffix is perhaps *iya* (as in Pāli). MS. A reads the example *vandio* (not *vandio*) ; similarly A reads *io* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *iya*. Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandiya*, and accordingly the suffix *iya* (not *o*).

INTRODUCTION.

1.

g, *tūṇa* or *tūṇa* (Skr. *tvāna*) forms the conjunctive participle ; e. g., *bhottūṇa* (Skr. *bhuktvā*, II, 19), *kūtūṇa* (Skr. *krtvā*, II, 5).

b, Nominal.

āla and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession. Thus *jaḍḍālo* or *jaḍḍi* (Skr. *jaṭavān*) II, 20.

10, INDECLINABLES.

a, *ṇāi*, *cheya* or *chiya* (Skr. *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels *ch* is doubled ; thus *taṃ cheya*, but *sa chechiya*.

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *vva*, *va* (Skr. *iva*) express likeness (II, 22) ; thus *gimho viya*, *kamalāṃ viva* ; but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvāra, e. g., *chandaṇaṃ piva* (cf. *pi*). The Sanskrit form *iva* also occurs, e. g., *chamaram iva*.

c, *jahā* (Skr. *yathā*) also expresses likeness (II, 22) ; e. g., *jahā sankho*.

d, *pi* (Skr. *apī*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *katam pi*, *sūro pi*.

e, *khu* (Skr. *khalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24) ; thus *evam khu*.

f, *tā* or *tāva* (Skr. *tāvat*) and *jāva* (Skr. *yāvat*) express measure (II, 21) ; e. g., *tā vichohhinnaṃ*, *tāva gambhīraṃ*, *jāva lijjante*. The abbreviated form *jū* does not occur. See pronominal adjectives, p. li.

g, *iya* (Skr. *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28) ; e. g., *iya evaṃ*.

h, *o* (Skr. *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23) ; e. g., *ohasitaṃ* (Skr. *avahasi-taṃ*), *osaritaṃ* (Skr. *apasaritaṃ*).

ANALYSIS OF CHAṆḌA'S SŪTRAS

ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3. 5-10.*

* The plan on which these sūtras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prākṛit. These forms are enumerated in sūtra I, 3.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prākṛit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are enumerated in the sūtras I, 5-16. *

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prākṛit declensional forms :

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chaṇḍa has already been given ; see pp. viii-x, xxiv-xxxi.

	masc. <i>a</i> bases.		masc. <i>i, u</i> bases.		fem. <i>a, i, u</i> bases.	
	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.
Sing.	Nom.	—	Nom.	—	Nom.	—
	Acc.	—	Acc.	—	Acc.	—
	Instr.	—	Instr.	—	—	<i>Instr.</i>
	—	ABL.	—	Abl.	—	<i>Abl.</i>
	—	GEN.	—	GEN.	—	<i>Gen.</i>
	—	Loc.	—	Loc.	—	<i>Loc.</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plur.	Nom.	—	—	Nom.	—	<i>Nom.</i>
	—	ACC.	—	Acc.	—	<i>Acc.</i>
	—	<i>INSTR.</i>	Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	<i>ABL.</i>	—	<i>ABL.</i>	—	<i>ABL.</i>
	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	Loc.	—	Loc.	—	Loc.	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit; those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit.

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural; indicated by capital italics.

(2). The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr., abl., gen., loc. singular and the nom. acc. plural indicated by small italics. (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases.)

(3). The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural; indicated by ordinary type.

(4). The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular; indicated by small capitals. (In the gen. sing. the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc. sing. the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *no* of the gen. is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *o* of the loc. to bases in *a*.)

.. (5). The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and the acc. plural; indicated by large capitals. (This is the converse of No. 3.)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sūtras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sūtras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (*lingāt parasya*, I, 5—8); secondly (by No. 2) sūtras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (*striyām*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sūtras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine (*pum̐si*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4) sūtras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (*pum̐si*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sūtras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (*pum̐linge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sūtras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chanda commences with the sūtra on the gen. plur., because the gen. plur. has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$. The gen. plur., therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sūtra I, 3, and the Prākritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sūtra on the instr. plur., because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc. bases in *a*.* Lastly comes the sūtra on the abl. plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chanda was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prākrit instr. plur. suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr. *bhis* (or *bhiḥ*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prākrit (i. e., by the rules III, 13, II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sūtra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prāk. instr. plur., if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base; but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *aiś*, with masc. bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chanda to formulate a special sūtra to meet the exceptional case of these masc. *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sūtra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc. *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhiso'taḥ*), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix *hi* to all other bases; which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sūtra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prākritic (like the abl. plur. suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*samskr̥itavad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sūtra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chanda did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sūtra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chanda commences with the sūtra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sūtra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom. and acc. plur.; a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *jaṣṣaṣoḥ*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chanda places the acc. plur. before the abl. sing., because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case); though another reason may have been, that sūtras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sūtras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sūtras. That the sūtras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sūtras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited; yet they are only applicable to bases in *i* and *u*. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways; 1, by the examples; these are only taken from bases in *i* and *u*; the example of the *a*-base will be found in sūtra I, 3; thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom. plur. not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sūtra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sūtra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc. plur. not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sūtra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u* bases, the sūtra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *vartanam* or "implication."* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sūtras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *ataḥ* "after *a*-bases" in sūtra I, 15. At the same time, the two sūtras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *i* and *u*; for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc. *a*-bases; next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sūtra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi dhīsaḥ*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc. *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sūtra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sūtra, is a favorite one with Chanda. Another striking example (regarding the gen. and loc. sing.) will be noticed further on in the text.

* The limitation of sūtra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sūtra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sūtras, viz., I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc. plur. and abl. sing. Of these the latter set, viz. I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *i* and *u*. There are, thus two sūtras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only; next two sūtras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases; lastly two sūtras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sūtra I, 13 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *no*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sūtra I, 14 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms; thus showing that the loc. in *e* does not belong to the *i*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base.* It hardly needs adding, that in sūtra I, 16, of course, the term *atah* is again "implied" from the preceding sūtra; though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *āt* (instead of *āsi*) used in the sūtra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prākṛit columns, and which are "*samskṛitavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prākṛit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are:—

(1.) The nom. and acc. singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. nom. sing. *grāmaḥ*, Ar. *gāmao* (II, 10) = *gāmo* (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48); or Skr. *pīṭham*, Ar. *pīṭha + am* = *pīḍham* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudī, p. 83) or Skr. *agniḥ*, Ar. *aggi* (II, 10); or Skr. *dadhi*, Ar. *dahi* (II, 10; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85); or Skr. *nadī*, Ar. *nai*; or Skr. *vadhūḥ*, Ar. *vahū* (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. *grāmam*, Ar. *gāma-am* = *gāmam* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47); or Skr. *agnim*, Ar. *aggi + am* = *aggim* (cf. Pāṇini *ibid.*); or Skr. *gangām*, Ar. *gangām*; or Skr. *nadīm*, Ar. *naīm*, etc.

(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devāḥ*, Ar. *devā* (II, 10); or Skr. *kulāni*, Ar. *kulāni* or *kulāni* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurve* (or *aggie*, *gurve* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sūtra. For the forms have no support either from Pāli or from Prākṛit; indeed Homa-chandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid them in their rules (II. C. III, 128. Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurve* are simply the regular Prākṛit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnike*, *gurve*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa soḥā* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS. A and B. For the gen. sing. of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS.) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskrit form; and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen. sing. of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS. C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chakḍrayagrahaṇā*, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was their way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chapḍa's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But their solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *cha*.

(3.) The instr. singular of masc. and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devéna*, *Ar. deveṇa* (III, 16).

(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders; thus Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, *Ar. aggihi* (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. *nadibhiḥ*, *Ar. naihi*, etc. The Skr. suffix *bhiḥ* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The *Arsha* form, therefore, is perfectly regular; but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skr. *aiḥ*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr. plur. in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvii.

(5.) The gen. plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders; thus Skr. *grāmāṇām*, *Ar. gāma + ṇam = gāmāṇam* (I, 5. II 1; cf. Pāṇini VI, 4. 3. and VII, 1. 54 in L. K. p. 51.; *i. e.*, Skr. *ṇam* becomes *ṇam* by I, 5; but *ṇam* consists of the augment *ṇ* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gāma* becomes long *ā* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1).

(6.) The loc. plur. of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. *deveshu*, *Ar. deva-su = devesu* (cf. Pāṇini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. *agnishu*, *Ar. aggisu* (III, 18), or Skr. *nadishu*, *Ar. naisu*, etc.

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chāṇḍa in sūtra I, 3.

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sūtra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc. plur., and abl. gen. and loc. singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sūtra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmiṃ*, *tvayi*, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gangā*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc. plur. and *gāme*, *kule* in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sūtra, as the former forms come under sūtra I, 10, 15, the latter under sūtra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS. A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL *N* TO CEREBRAL *Ṇ*.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxv, xxvi.

The only instances in which the *Arsha* shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *ṇ*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *ṇa* or *ṇā* of the instr. sing. (I, 3), *ṇo* of the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. (I, 11, 12), *ṇi* of the nom. plur. neut. (I, 4), *ṇa* (or *ṇam*) of the gen. plur. (I, 5). Again the derivative suffixes *tūṇa* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttana (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *nai* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*). In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*.

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the *Arsha* is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used; there are exceptions in which the cerebral *ṇ* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound; but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions; for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *ṇ*; e. g. *nāṇam* (III, 6), but *nānam* (III, 19); *dhannam* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhannam* (III, 16).

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *ṇ*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS. B. Thus it has instr. sing. *devena* in I, 3, *nehena* in II, 27; nom. plur. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4); gen. plur. *devānam* in I, 3 (but *buddhīnam*, *naīnam*, etc.) and *no* in the sūtra of I, 5 (but *na* in all examples); *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttana* in the sūtra and in all examples); *nai* in II, 17 (in the sūtra, but *nai* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS. B has uniformly the cerebral *ṇ*; viz., in the instr. sing. suffix *ṇā* (I, 3), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix *ṇo* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *tūṇa* (I, 13). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; viz., the nom. plur. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), and *nai* in II, 17 (only in the sūtra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom. plur. neuter (where both MSS. A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr. sing. of *a*-bases (which MS. B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *ṇ*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the *Arsha* forms are tatsanas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas. This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *ṇ* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases; in the case of the instr. sing. suffix *ṇā*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *ṇ* in Prākṛit (at least in the Western Prākṛit), there can be no doubt; evidence of it, in the modern Western Gauḍian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prākṛit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p. xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prākṛit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandra, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prākṛit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prākṛit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prākṛit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prākṛit and the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prākṛit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings; and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype; for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, ~~and who~~ employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prākṛit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-ṣṛuṭi*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prākṛit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*; for then the vowels practically tend to combine ($a+i = ai$ or ay , $a+u = o$ or au , etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* ($\bar{a} + a$ or $a + \bar{a}$, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prākṛit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels ($aya = a + a$, $iya = i + a$, uya or $uva = u + a$, etc.); a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prākṛit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-ṣṛuṭi* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prākṛit, allows the *ya-ṣṛuṭi* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prākṛit (e.g., Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-ṣṛuti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prākṛit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses.

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chaṇḍa (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant.* Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *kaṭujjoo* for *katojjoo*. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prākṛit, both the Jaina and the Māhārāṣṭrī. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prākṛit, for it is still observed in the present day (e.g., in Hindī *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prākṛit was probably this. In the later Prākṛit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116); a practice apparently unknown to the older Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*; *kaṭujjoo* and *kaṭojjoo*); of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaṭojjoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendra*, *kṛitodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u*. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view; and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *a* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side.

ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxvi and xxviii.

The remark as to the permissive character of Chaṇḍa's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch. III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-ṣṛuti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples.

kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule; and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prākṛit of Chanda's time, as regards sord consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule; in both cases, there might be exceptions; but Chanda's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch. III, 31-41, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards deletion on the part of the sonants, than on that of sord consonants.

॥ १ ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः^(१) ॥



प्रणम्य* शिर्षमा वीरं स्वन्वैर् व्यापिभिर् अचरैः ।
 लक्षणं प्राकृतं वक्ष्ये किंचिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥
 कचिन् लोपः कचित् मन्थिः कचिद् वर्णविपर्ययः ।
 आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ ^(२)अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

प्रामद्वं प्राकृतं नेमा^(१) विमलं विमलं विमलं विमलं
 यज्ञः^(११) जने
 वृद्धमतात् किंचिद्
 † (१) व्यापिभिर् अचरैः
 प्राकृतं संस्कृतं
 दश्यादिकम् अनेकधा ॥
 † (१) यज्ञः यजनं पुंलिङ्गे य
 6 जजः) । हजयाना रनखाः
 विमर्जनो यस्य (ii, 10 जजयाना
 विशेषः स्याद् वा अलिख्यन्तप्र
 (१) C prefixes ८० = 80. om. of the Jain work *śatvārthasūtra* pref ६०=60. (११) C ओं नमः ॥
 आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं
 (२) So A; B C D om. the commentary. (६) B om.
 D, A B C ०धेनिः ॥ (११)
 जने ॥ (१२) A B om.

(^१) संज्ञातयम् । तच् चेदं । खुरो । सोमो । जालं(^१) । कंदलं(^१)
 कोमलं(^१) । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं(^१) (C D(^१)) । तच् चेदं ॥ हविः
 तं(^१) लहसिम् । (^१)स्यष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलितं (^१)पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलीय ।
 इत्यादि ॥

॥ २ ॥ लिंगं च(^१) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रैधा(^१) चिप्रकारं(^१) भवति ॥ देवो(^१) ।
 गंगा(^१) । कुलं ॥

॥ ३ ॥ तस्मात् संज्ञितवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संज्ञितवद् विभक्तयो(^१) भवन्ति ॥ मि ॥

॥ वङ्ग(^१) । पं

चक्रः । जालं पशुः
 देवो । खुराणां खुरो
 ii, 6 चक्रिः । लोपः
 0) चक्रो ॥ ॥ C :

B कं ॥ (१) A B कोमलः
 stated here, that A B not
 of a clause or sentence.
 have a different reading;
 पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वली । (२)
 (१२) D adds Skr. देवः ॥
 B om. this case-term ;
 , and C-D add the
 चक्रः । खुरः । हविः ।
 (१०) A B
 (१०) A C D चक्रः ।

दहि । मज्ज । त्वं^(१) । अहं^(१) ॥ जम् ॥ देवा^(१) । कुलानि^(४) । वयं^(५) ।
 लज्जे अज्जे । (C D) ॥ अस्मि^(६) ॥ देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं^(७) । ^(८) गंगा* ।
 बुद्धिं^(९) । धेनुं । नदीं^(१०) । पीठं^(११) । दहि । मज्ज । ^(१२) तां मां
 तां रक्खत्तु^(१३) ॥ ग्रामं^(१४) (B C D) ॥ टा ॥ देवेण^(१५) । गुरुणा^(१६) ।
 दहिणा^(१७) ॥ भिम ॥ अग्निहिं^(१८) । रिपुहिं^(१९) । बुद्धिहिं^(२०) । नदीहिं^(२१) ।
 दहिहिं । मज्जहिं^(२२) । तुम्हेहिं^(२३) । अहेहिं^(२४) ॥ डांसं^(२५) (B C D) ॥
 भयम्^(२६) (C D) ॥ डम्^(२७) (B C D) ॥ आम् ॥ देवाणं^(२८) ।
 बुद्धीणं^(२९) । धेनुणं^(३०) । नदीणं^(३१) । तेषां^(३२) । तैस्सि^(३३) ॥ डि^(३४)

* C गंगं गंगा । खरोऽन्याऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गंगं ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-चम्) ।
 खराणां (ii, 1 धेनु-चम् or धेनुम्) । खरो- (ii, 4 धेनुम्) । अदागमो- (ii, 11 धेनुं) ॥
 ‡ C युष्माभिः । युष्मादा वयस्य तः (iii, 17 तुष्माभिः) । रश्मिणां सः (iii, 18 तुष्माभिः) ।
 वर्यं (iii, 3 तुष्माभिः) । श्वशोरं (iii, 23 तुष्माभिः) । खरो- (ii, 4 तुम्हेभिः) । अदागमो-
 (ii, 11 तुम्हेभिः) । हिं भिसः (i, 7) तुम्हेहिं ॥ § C तेषिं । तेषां । रश्मिणां सः (iii, 18
 तेषां) । खरोऽन्याऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन षाम इति सिं भवति । तेषिं ॥

(१) So A (see Kacc. ii, 2, 21), B तुमम्, C D तुमं ॥ (२) D चक्षे and, after
 it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवाः, B देवा (cf. p. 2, note १९). (४) C D कुलानि ॥
 (५) B वयं; C D have a different reading, see Appendix C D. (६) A reads
 confusedly बुद्धिं । जम् । धेनुं । पीठं । मज्जं । तां । मां तं रक्खत्तु, om. the rest of
 the examples of the acc. sing.; C D add the Skr. translations देवं ।
 बुद्धिं । गुरुं । गंगां । बुद्धिं । धेनुं । नदीं । पीठं । दहि । मज्ज ॥ (७) C D add रिपुं रिपुं
 (cf. MS. रिपुं) ॥ (८) So B; C D गंगं ॥ (९) B D बुद्धिं ॥ (१०) C D नदीं, A
 नदी ॥ (११) A B पीठं ॥ (१२) A reads तां मां तं रं, B C तां मां तं रं न रं, D
 मां तं मां तं रं ॥ (१३) A B रक्खत्तु, C D रक्खत्तु ॥ (१४) A om.; see App. B C D.
 (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr. देवेन । गुरुणा । दहा ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जत्ता ॥
 (१७) D adds दहिणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्नीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिपुं च, D रिपुं हिं; B om.
 this example; A om. this and the remaining examples of the instr. plur.; C D
 add the Skr. translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दहिभिः । बुद्धिभिः ।
 दहिभिः । भिमः ॥ (२०) B बुद्धीहिं, C वं; D बुद्धिहिं and adds नदीहिं ॥ (२१)
 D नदीहिं ॥ (२२) B C D मज्जहिं, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read तुम्हेहिं ॥ (२४) A om.;
 see App. B C D. (२५) B देवाणां (see i, 5); D adds Skr. देवाणां ॥ (२६) D भयम्
 A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur.; C D भयम् ॥ (२७) B D डम्, C om. (२८) C D add देवाणां । देवाणां ।

(BCD) ॥ सुप॥ देवेसु^(१) । अग्निसु^(१) । बुद्धिसु^(१) । माता-
सु^(१) । नदीसु^(१) । कुलेसु^(१) । तुम्हेसु^(१) । अम्हेसु^(१) । (CD) ॥
इत्यादि^(८) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ कचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिंगानां कचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जम्^(१०) ॥ विष्णोर्^(११) ।
देवाणि^(११) रत्नं^(११) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ सागमस्याप्य आसो णो^(१२) हे^(१३) वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५) सागमस्यासोऽनागमस्यापि एकारो भवति हे वा ॥ ताणं ताहं ॥
देवाणं^(१६) देवाहं । कम्पाणं । कम्पाहं । (१७) सरिताणं सरिताहं । (CD) ।
(१८) तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ । (CD) ॥

॥ 6 ॥ संख्याया^(१९) एहः ॥ ६ ॥

* C व्यत्ययः । विपर्ययः ॥ † C विष्णोर् । वि-
पर्ययः (iii, 5 विष्णु) । तत्पर्ययः (iii, 16 वि-
ष्णुस्य (i, 12 विष्णोर्) ॥ ‡ C ताणं । ताहं । तेषां
करणीयं । एकस्मिन् स्थाने सः द्वितीयस्थाने हो वि-
पर्ययः । सरिता । तुम्हाहं ॥

(१) A om., D देवेसु; B prefixes Skr.
कसीसु ॥ (१०) A बुद्धेसु, B C बु०, D बुद्धे-
सु ॥ (११) A om., C रत्नं, D रत्नं ॥
and adds तुम्हेसु ॥ (१२) B एहो, C एहो,
इहो ॥ (१३) So A; BCD एषो कसो, C
adds देवाहं देवाहं; D adds देवाहं । (१४) I
om. (१५) B सागमस्यासो अनागमः ॥ (१६) B
सरिताहं; B सरिताहं सरिताहं; D prefixes
इहोहं; D तुम्हाहं तुम्हाहं ॥ (१७) CD संख्यायाः ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप् आनो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) ।

*पंचरहं । तीसरहं^(१) । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6° ॥ (C D) ॥ ६ ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि^(२) भिसः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिसो हि^(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं[†] । गामेहिं^(३) । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हितो^(४) भ्यमः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसो^(४) हितो भवति ॥ गामेहितो^(५) । सिद्धे-
हितो^(६) । बुद्धिहितो^(७) । धेनुहितो^(८) । नर्देहितो^(९) । तुष्टेहितो^(१०) ।
अष्टेहितो^(११) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ तृतीयादीनाम एवम^(१२) एकस्य स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

तृतीयादीनां टाडसिडस्डि-वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए[‡] ।

बुद्धीए^(१३) । नर्देए^(१४) । वृष्टेए^(१५) । तीए^(१६) । ताए ॥

॥ 10 ॥ औपनिषत्^(१७) जग्गमा^(१८) ॥ १० ॥

* C पंचरहं । पंचानां ॥ पंचन् । अदागमो (ii, 11 पंच) । संख्याया षष्ठः (i, 8 पंचरह) । अनुसारो (ii, 15 पंचरह) ॥ † C तीसरहं । तिस्रतां ॥ तिस्रत् । रेफः (iii, 9 तिस्रत्) । अनुसारो (ii, 15 तिस्रत्) । खरो (ii, 4 तीसरत्) । रश्मिणां षष्ठः (iii, 18 तीसरत्) । तस्य च इत्य् अनेन तलोपः (iii, 38 तीसर) । संख्याया षष्ठः (i, 8 तीसरह) । अनुसारो (ii, 15 तीसरह) ॥ ‡ C देवेहिं । देवैः ॥ § C गंगार । गंगया । गंगायाः गंगायाः । गंगायां ॥ ॥ C तीर तार । तथा तस्याः तस्याः तस्यां ॥

(१) A तीसरहः ; C D prefix तीसरहं ॥ (२) B C D हिं ॥ (३) C D om. ; but see App. C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिसो ॥ (६) A C om., B D गमाहितो ; D prefixes गामेभ्यः ॥ (७) A सिद्धीहितो, B सिद्धाहितो ; C D read देवेहितो and add अस्तीहितो । बुद्धिहितो ॥ (८) B C धेनुहितो, A D धु- ॥ (९) C D धेनुहितो, A B धेनु- ॥ (१०) C D नर्देहितो ॥ (११) B D तुष्टे- and अष्टे- ॥ (१२) A om. ; see i, 28. (१३) A बुद्धीए, B रज्जु- ॥ (१४) A B D नु- ॥ (१५) C D वृष्टे- ॥ (१६) A व- ॥ (१७) C D place तार । तीर- ॥ (१८) A ओप- ; B औपलोपो- ॥ (१९) C D जग्गमा, B जग्गमा ॥

स्त्रियां वर्त्तमानयोर्^(१) जश्शसोर्^(२) ओ-उ-लोपाश्च भवन्ति^(३) ॥

(^४)मालाओ मालाउ माला । (^५)बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । (^६)धेनूओ धेनूउ धेनू । नईओ नईउ नई* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10^a ॥ (CD) ॥ १०^a ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुंसि पूर्व्वत्वं^(७) ॥ ११^a ॥

पुंसि^(८) पुंस्त्रिगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोः^(९) पूर्व्वस्त्रोः भवति ॥
अग्नी^(८) । गुरु ॥

॥ 11^a ॥ C ॥ ११^a ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो डसेश्च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंस्त्रिगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोर्^(१०) णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥
ऋग्निणो जलन्ति । ऋमुणिणो पस्व^(१०) । ॥ गिरिणो एति^(११) नई^(१२) ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्मश्च^(१३) च डस्^(१४) ॥ १३ ॥

पुंसि वर्त्तमानस्य डसो णो भवति । स्मश्च^(१३) च भवति^(१५) ॥ ॥ मुणिणो

* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples; but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each

form; thus ^{१३}मालाओ ॥ † C यादृशः पूर्व्वशब्दस्य स्वरसादृश एव कर्तव्यः ॥ ‡ C अग्रयः
जलन्ति ॥ § C मुनीन् पश्य ॥ ॥ C गिरिः सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरितः एति वती ॥
॥ B मुनेः रूपं ॥

(१) A reads वर्त्तमाना एते भवन्ति ॥ (२) CD जश्शसोर् ॥ (३) B reads ओ
ओ भवन्ति । लोपो भवति ॥ (४) A has final ओ, and D has final उ, instead
of ओ, in all examples; exc. D नईओ; B places मालाउ मालाओ and
so on throughout. (५) B डु० in all three examples. (६) A CD डु for डु
in all three examples. (७) B पूर्व्वत्वं ॥ (८) A om. (९) CD prefix दोस् ॥
(१०) B पस्वति ॥ (११) A B C एति, D रई ॥ (१२) A C D नई, B नई ॥ (१३) B
स्मश्च ॥ (१४) A डसेश्च ॥ (१५) A om.

(१) रूपं (१) मुणिसू रूपं । *अग्निषो सिहा अग्निस्तु सिहा ॥ (१) देवस्तु
सोहा । (CD) if

॥ 14 ॥ ए स्मि डः ॥ १४ ॥

पुंषि डिवचनस्य ए^(४) भवति । स्मि च भवति ॥ (५) अग्निस्मि ।
(१) गुरुस्मि ॥ (७) गामे गामस्मि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (८) ए शसोऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः^(९) अकाराद् उत्तरस्य शसः^(१०) पुंङ्गि ए भवति ॥ देवे ॥
वम्भणे^(११) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (१२) तोतुहिंतीलोपात् तभ्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(१२) पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य^(१३) तोतुहिंतीलोपा^(१४) एते

* BC अग्नेः सिहा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्नेः ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or
अग्निषो (i, 11. 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्निं । अग्नी or अग्निषो (i, 11 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्निषा
(i, 6^a) । अग्नीहिं (i, 7) ॥ २ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्तु । अग्नीषं or अग्नीचं (ii, 18.
i, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्निषो (i, 12) । अग्नीहिंती (i, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्तु (i, 13) ।
अग्नीषं or अग्नीचं (i, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्निर^(१९) or अग्निस्मि (i, 14) । अग्नीतु or अग्नीतुं
(i, 3. ii, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ च अग्नी । च अग्नी or च अग्निषो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्वेषां
रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरौ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ १ ॥ गुरुं । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुषा ।
गुरुचं ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुषो or गुरुस्तु । गुरुषं or गुरुच ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुषो । गुरुहिंती ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुषो or
गुरुस्तु । गुरुषं or गुरुच ॥ ६ ॥ गुरुष^(१९) or गुरुस्मि । गुरुतु or गुरुतुं ॥ ७ ॥ च गुरु । च गुरु or
च गुरुषो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ || C देवान् । आक्षेपान् ॥

(१) A reads पस्तु (see i, 12); B C D रूपं ॥ (२) C D रूपं; A B om. मुणिसू
रूपं । अग्निषो सिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्तु सोहा before अग्निस्तु सिहा; A B om.
(४) C D ए स्मि च भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्निस्मि, B C D अग्नीर ॥ (६) D prefixes
गुरुष, C गुरुष; but not A B. (७) C D prefix देवे । देवस्मि ॥ (८) B om. this
sūtra and its commentary. (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शसः ॥ (११) A
वम्भणे (see ii, 15). (१२) A B C D read तोतुं for तोतु, and C D insert हिं
after त; B has the marginal note हिं त्रुटि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आतत आदे, B पंचमी
आत आदे, C पंचमी आत । आदे, D पंचत परत आदे; C had originally आत, but
the long ā is changed to a by yellow pigment. (१४) B आदेशतकारस्य ॥ (१५)
A B C D तोतुं for तोतु ॥ (१६) MS. अग्नीर and गुरुष ॥

आदेशा भवन्ति^(१) ॥ ^(१) गयणातो* । गयणातु† । गयणाहितो^(२) गयणा^(३) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमेतः^(४) से पृष्टीरूपानां^(५) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्^(६) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वज्जलेषु स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य
 से भवति ॥ तस्याः^(७) रूपं से रूपं^(८) । तस्याः^(९) गुणाः^(१०) से गुणाः^(११) ।
^(१२) अस्याः रूपं से रूपं^(१३) । ^(१४) अस्याः गुणाः से गुणाः । एवं शेषेष्व्
 अपि द्रष्टव्याः^(१५) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युग्मद्वयोः ॥ १८ ॥

अतः^(१६) ऊर्द्धं युग्मद्वयो भवति ॥

* C गगनात् ।* कगचज० (or कटतीय० iii, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गचन) ।
 अस्थिते यत्नम् अवरणः (or य० अवरणं iii, 35 गयन) । तद्वर्गस्य० (iii, 16 गयन) । स्त्रो०
 (ii, 4 गयना) । को० (i, 16) इति गयणाश्चो ॥ † C गयणो^(१७) । गयणा । से गयणो ।
 से गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयणं । गयणा or गयणे (i, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहि or गयणेहि or
 गयणेहि ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणार्ण or गयणाञ्च ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाश्चो or गयणाञ्च or गयणाङ्गि or
 गयणाङ्गितो or गयणा । गयणेहितो ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणार्ण or गयणाञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे
 or गयणमि । गयणेसु or गयणसु ॥ ७ ॥ एवं सर्वेषां अकारानामां रूपं नेयं ॥ ‡ C युक्-
 त्त्वाच्च रूपानि ॥ तुमं । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुए or तुमं । तुम्हे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तद्
 or तद् । तुम्हेचि or तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहि ॥ ३ ॥ तुव or तुवम् or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं
 or तुम्हाचि or तुम्हाचि or तुम्हाहितो or तुम्हाश्चो or तद्मो । तुम्हेहितो ॥ ५ ॥
 तुव or तुवम् or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाचि or तुम्ह ॥ ६ ॥ तद् or तुममि । तुम्हेसु
 or तुम्हेसु ॥ ७ ॥

(१) A adds चिच्च; B C D insert चि after •तु० ॥ (२) A गयणश्चो, गयणाञ्च
 with ā, B C D गयणाश्चो, गयणाञ्च (with ā). (३) A गयणाङ्गितो (with ā); it
 also adds गयणाङ्गि (with ā), while B C D prefix it. (४) C D add एवं देवादयः ॥
 (५) A B D •मो ॥ (६) A om. पृष्टी ॥ (७) C D तत् ॥ (८) A B तस्या । (९) So A;
 B C D क्वं ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणाः ॥ (१२) A B om. the two last
 examples. (१३) A B C D क्वं ॥ (१४) D om. this example, but, on the other
 hand, adds नयोः रूपं से क्वं । तासां रूपं से क्वं ॥ (१५) B •मो ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥
 (१७) So in MS., as masc.

॥ 19 ॥ ^(१)तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ १८ ॥

.. युष्मच्छब्दस्य सविभक्तेः सौ परतः^(१) तुमं आदेशो भवति ॥ ^(२)तुमं देवो^(३) ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 20 ॥ ^(४)असि तुष्टे च तं ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो असि परे ^(५)तुमं भवति तुष्टे च । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमं भणामि* तष्ट भणामि^(६) ॥ (CD) ॥

युष्मदो असि परे तुष्टे च तं ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो ^(११)असि परे तुष्टे^(१०) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुष्टे^(१०) †मनुस्मृ^(१२) खरा^(१३) ॥

युष्मदो असि परे तुष्टे च तं ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदः^(१५) असि परे तुष्टे^(१४) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुष्टे^(१४) †मनुस्मृ^(१६) भणामि^(१७) ॥

* C भणामि । संस्कृतसमम् अत्र ॥ † C माणुस्मृ । मनुष्य ॥ खरो० (ii, 4 माणुष्य) । तवर्गस्थ० (iii, 16 माणुष्य) । रक्षणार्थां सः (iii, 18 माणुष्य) । श्वस्त्रेभ्यो० (iii, 2 माणुष्य) । लोपे० (iii, 24 माणुस्मृ) । पंचि० (i, 11 माणुस्मृ) । खराणां० (ii, 1) माणुस्मृ ॥ † C here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial खरो० ॥

(१) C reads तं तु तुवं तुष्टं ॥ तुमं सौ स०; D तं तुं तुवं तुष्टं तुमं सौ स० ॥ (२) CD read परत एते पंच आदेशा भवति ॥ (३) C reads तं तु तुवं तुष्टं ॥ तं तुमं दिवो ॥ (४) C दिवो, D दिद्वो ॥ (५) CD place this sūtra after the following. (६) CD add तुमं तं ॥ (७) CD read तुष्टे तुमं तं च भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ (८) C D place this example before the other, and add तं भणामि ॥ (९) C D place this sūtra before the preceding one. (१०) So B, A तुष्टे, C तुष्टे, D तुष्टे ॥ (११) A places असि परे after भवति ॥ (१२) So B; A मनुस्मृ, C माणुस्मृ; in C मनुस्मृ is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (माणुस्मृ is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (१३) A खरा, B खरा; C D add the Skr. translation यूयं मनुष्याः खराः (C in MS. खराः) ॥ (१४) A तुष्टे, B तुष्टे ॥ (१५) A ऽदश् ॥ (१६) A मनुस्मृ, C D मनुस्मृ ॥ (१७) C D add Skr. युष्मान् मनुष्यान् भणामि ॥

॥ २३ ॥ ते तुमे तद् तए माथो^(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युष्मद्^(१) टावचने^(२) परे ते तुमे तद् तए एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्ते ॥ किं^(३) ते कतं^(४) । तुमे *दिट्ठो^(५) । तद् मज्झं^(६) कतं^(७) ।
तए पलातं^(८) ॥

॥ २४ ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहिं^(१) तुमातो^(२) तुमाहिं^(३) तुमातो^(४) ॥ २४ ॥

युष्मद्^(११) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं^(१२) तुमाहिं^(१३) तुमातो^(१४)
तद्तो^(१५) एते आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्ते ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सरो^(१६)
तुमाहिं^(१७) अहं सुहो^(१८) । तुमातो^(१९) अहं नाणी^(२०) ।
तद्तो^(२१) निक्खतो^(२२) ॥ (C D) ॥

* C दिट्ठो । दट्ठः ॥ सराणि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण द इत्य् अस्मिन् दि भवति (दिट्ठः) ।
वर्गो (iii, 3) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण द इति षकारस्य लोपः । ट स्थितं (दिट्ठः) । लोपो० (iii, 24
दिट्ठः) । तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिट्ठः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 दिट्ठो) । सराणां० (ii, 1 दिट्ठो) ॥
† C B लया मर्थं कृतं ॥ ‡ B पलातं । प्रलातं ॥ C पलतं । प्रलतं ॥ § B लदहं
ज्ञानो ॥ ॥ C ज्ञानो । वर्षविस्त्रेणे कृते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । शाब्द० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन
अलोपः (जानो) । ज्ञाथानां० (iii, 19 जानो) । तवर्गो० (iii, 16 जानो) ॥

(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०द्व ॥ (३) A om. परे-एते incl. (४) A किन्ते ॥
(५) A B C D कथं ; C D add the Skr. translations किं लया कृतं । लया दट्ठः ।
लया सम (B मर्थं in marginal gloss, q. v.) कृतं । लया प्रलतं (so C ; D प्रलपितं) ॥
(६) A B दिट्ठो, C दिट्ठो, D दिट्ठो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्झ कथं, B संबन्धं, C D मज्झ कथं ॥
(८) A पलातं, B पलातं, C पलतं, D पलपितं ॥ (९) B तुमाहिंतो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाउ,
B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तद्तो ॥ (१२) A ०द्व ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिंस् इत्यादयः, om.
the other forms. (१४) B तुमाहिंतो, A om. (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाउ, A om.
(१६) B सरो ; D adds the Skr. translations लदु चहं ग्रहः । लदु चहं सुभगः । लदु
चहं ज्ञानो । लदु चहं निष्कृतं, C om. them in the text, but gives them in the
marginal gloss. (१७) A om. तुमाहिंतो ॥ (१८) B orig. संहो, corr. सु० ; D
सुहो ॥ (१९) B जानो, A C D जानो (see iii, 6. iii, 19). (२०) So D ; C णो,
A निक्खानो, B एक्खन्तो ॥

.. युष्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे ^(१)तुह ^(४)तुष्म ^(५)तुम् एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ *तुह मीलं^(६) । तुष्म^(१) कलाओ^(७) । तुम्^(८) गुणा^(९) ॥

अतः^(१०) ऊर्द्ध्वं^(११) अस्मदध्यायो भवति^(१२) ॥

अस्मदः^(१३) टावचने परे मे मए भवतः । सविभक्तेः^(१४) ॥ †मे कतं^(१५) ।
मए दिङ्^(१६) ॥

* C तव मीलं । तव कलाः । तव गुणाः ॥ † B मया कतं ॥

(१) A तुम्, B तुम्भ ॥ (२) B तुष्म, C D तुम्भः ॥ (३) A om. तुह, तुष्म, तुम् ॥
(४) B तुम्भ ॥ (५) B तुष्म, D तुम्भ ॥ (६) A मीलं ॥ (७) A कलाओ, B कला ॥
(८) A B तुष्म ॥ (९) A गुणौ ॥ (१०) B इत, D अतः ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्ध्वं ॥
(१२) A निरूप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दम् ॥ (१४) A B om. (१५) A B C D कतं;
C D add the Skr. translations मया कतं । मया ददं ॥ (१६) A दिङ्, B दिङ् ॥
(१७) So A ; B C D मर्तो ॥

असदः^(१) पञ्चमेकवचने परे मद्भक्तो^(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मद्भक्तो^(३)
तुमं सरो^(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अन्वाहितो^(५) भवति ॥ २९ ॥

असदो^(६) भवति परे अन्वाहितो^(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः^(७) ॥ अन्वाहितो^(८)
तुमं सरो^(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ मद् मज्झ^(१०) भवति ॥ ३० ॥

असदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मद् मज्झ^(११) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ मद्
शीलं^(१२) । मज्झ गुणा^(१३) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अस्मि ॥ ३१ ॥

असदः^(१४) अस्मि परे अहं^(१५) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अहं^(१६) चिय
ते दोषा^(१७) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ ॥ C D ॥ ३१ ॥

॥ I ॥ इति चंडकते प्राकृतलक्षणे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

* C मद्भक्तो । सत् ॥ † C मद् मशीलं^(१८) । मद् गुणाः ॥ ‡ B अस्माकम् दोषाः ॥

(१) 'A' ० दः ॥ (२) C D मद्भक्तो; B द्भक्तो om. स; A से मद् भवतः (see i, 27).
(३) A मद्भक्तो, B C D मद्भक्तो ॥ (४) A मद्भक्तो; B places it before तुमं; D adds
Skr. translation लं मद्भक्तः ॥ (५) A अन्वाहितो ॥ (६) B ० दः ॥ (७) A B C om.
(८) A अन्वाहितो, B अन्वाहितः ॥ (९) A मद्भक्तो ॥ (१०) B om. sūtra and comment,
but gives the examples. (११) A मद्भक्तो, C D मज्झा ॥ (१२) A मशीलं; C D add
मज्झा मशीलं । मद्भक्तो ॥ (१३) B मशीलं ॥ (१४) D अहं ॥ (१५) B C D ० दः ॥
(१६) D अहं ॥ (१७) B दोषाः; C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते
दोषाः ॥ (१८) MS. सिद्धं ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

II. 1^a. II. 1. 1.]

॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ स्वरानां स्वरेः प्रकृतिरूपसंध्यः ॥ २ ॥

स्वरानां स्वरे परे^(१) (१) प्रकृतिर लोपस् संध्यश् च भवन्ति । *इह^(४)
अच्छति^(५) । †इहच्छति^(६) । †इहागतो^(७) ॥ †मह^(८) इव हितो ।
॥ देविर्द्वन्दितो^(९) । †मकीसाणा^(१०) ॥ **म ईसरो^(११) । †तियसीसो^(१२) ।
†गहेसो^(१३) ॥ †‡चंदुज्जला^(१४) । †‡‡तपोपरोहो ॥ (१५) सा ऊढा ।
††नीसासुसासा^(१६) । ***मोरो^(१७) ॥ †††गामओ^(१८) गामो ॥

* C इह अच्छर । प्रकृति । अच तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । खरोः (ii, 4) इत्य अनेन
अकारस्य इ भवति (इच) । रेफः (iii, 9 इत) । प्रथमः (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य
यकारः (इय) । पुनः प्रथमः (iii, 11) इत्यनेन यकारस्य धकारः (इध) । सोः (iii, 13 इह) ।
इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति (१९) । कगचजः (iii, 34 इहति) । खरोः (ii, 4) इत्यनेन
इकारस्य अकारः (अहति) । षाट्ठः (iii, 8 अयति) । रश्पाः (iii, 18 अयति) । सस्य खखः
(iii, 14 अयति) । लोपः (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 अच्छति) । पुनः कगचजः (iii,
34 अच्छर) ॥ † B C अच अकारस्य लोपः ॥ † B इहागतः । C संधि । अच आगतः ॥
‡ B मख इव हितः ॥ ‡ C लोपः । देवेन्द्रवन्दितः ॥ † B शक्रश्च (२०) ईशानश्च । अलोपः ॥
C लोपः । शक्र अये ईशान । द्विवयवे वक्रवयसं (see ii, 12) । शक्रश्च ईशानश्च
शक्रेशानौ ॥ ** B स ईशरः । C संधिः । शया ईशरः । शचीशरः ॥ †† C लोपः । निदश
अये ईशः । निदशेशः । निदशानां ईशः ॥ †† C संधिः । यहाणां ईशः ॥ ††† C लोपः ।
चंद्र अये उज्जला । चंद्रवत् उज्जला ॥ †‡‡ B तपसः उपरोधः । C संधिः । तपोपरोधः ॥
††† B निःशस्य उज्जस्य । अलोपः । C लोपः । (११) निःशस्य उज्जस्य । निःशसो-
ज्जसौ ॥ *** C संधिः । मोरो । मरूरः ॥ ††† B गामतः ग्रामः । C गामात् गामो । प्रकृतिः ।
गामो गामो । संधिः । ग्रामात् ग्रामः । but see note to translation.

(१) B om. (२) B C D परतः ॥ (३) So A B ; C D प्रकृतिलोपसंध्यश्च ॥ (४) A
has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others ; B places *, §, †, ‡.
(५) A अच्छर, B C D अच्छर ॥ (६) B C D इहच्छर ॥ (७) B इहागत, C इहागो, D
इहागत् ॥ (८) A महर् ईवहिय, B महर् ईवहिय (see marginal gloss), C D om. this
example. (९) B ०दिज, D ०दिज, A C om. (see ii, 2). (१०) B ०शाणे, A om.
(११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om. (१२) B मौसो, A om. (१३) B गहसो, A om.
(१४) B चंदुज्जला, A om. (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D ऊढो (?) ॥
(१६) So B ; A om., C D सीसा ॥ (१७) C D add मरूरः ॥ (१८) B गामानामो । गामो
गामात् गामो, C गामात् गामो, D गामात् गामो ॥ (१९) So MS. and accordingly
the explanation षाट्ठः ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रश्च ईशानश्च ॥ (२१) MS. निःशसो, उज्जसौ ॥

बुद्धी^(१) इमा* । बुद्धिदे^(१) । बुद्धीषो† ॥ बुद्धीओ^(१) । नईओ^(१) ॥

॥ 1^b ॥ 1) ॥ १^a ॥

॥ 1^a ॥ 1) ॥ १^a ॥

॥ 2 ॥ ^(१)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ ३ ॥

(^१)संयोगे परे स्वरं परतः पूर्वस्वरस्य^(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ धनाब्जः^(६)
धनडो^(७) । देव हन्त्रः^(८) देविदे । हत उद्योगः^(९) कतुज्जोओ^(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ हन्त्रः संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

स्वराणां ह्रस्वं^(११) भवति । ^(१२)संयोगेऽक्षरे^(१३) परे ॥ ^(१४)कव्यं^(१५) ।
कज्जं । ॥ दक्षिन्^(१६) । तिकव् ॥ **सिग्घो^(१७) । †उड्डु^(१८) । सुज्जो^(१९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ स्वरोऽन्त्येऽन्त्ये ॥ ४ ॥

* C बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृतिः ॥ † B बुद्धीन्द्रः । C लोपः । बुद्धि इन्द्रः ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीषो ।
संधिः ॥ § C प्रकृतिः । बुद्धयः । नद्यः ॥ ॥ B ईक्षित । C ईक्षिचं । ईक्षितं ॥ श्रेवगौचं
(iii, 4 ईक्षितं) । सस्यं (iii, 14 ईक्षितं) । लोपो (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 ईक्षितं) ।
ह्रस्वं (ii, 3 ईक्षितं) । कज्जज्जं (iii, 34 ईक्षितं) ॥ ¶ C तोत्तं । वर्णविज्ञेपे हते
सति क् ष् ए चं रति स्थिताः भवन्ति । रश्मिः (iii, 18 तोत्तं) । शब्दः (iii, 6 तोत्तं) ।
श्रे (iii, 4 तोत्तं) । सस्यं (iii, 14 तोत्तं) । लोपो (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तोत्तं) ।
ह्रस्वं (ii, 3 तिकव्) ॥ ** B सिग्घं ॥ †† B ऊर्ध्वं ॥

(१) B D बु० here and afterwards. (२) B D बुद्धीदे (but see marginal
gloss). (३) B prefixes एवं बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगे परे ॥ (५) A पूर्वस्वरपक्ष ॥
(६) A ओ०, B ओ० ॥ (७) A धनाड्डो, B धनड्डो, C D धनड्डो । (८) B देवेन्द्रः ॥ (९) A
उद्यो, C D उद्योतः ॥ (१०) A हतुज्जो, B C कतुज्जोओ, D कतुज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes
पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगेऽक्षरे ॥ (१४) C
prefixes धनड्डो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations कव्यं । कव्यं । ईक्षितं ।
तौक्ष्णं । शीघ्रः । ऊर्ध्वः ; see also B in the marginal gloss. (१५) B कव्यं ॥
(१६) A B C D ईक्षिचं ॥ (१७) A om. this and the remaining examples; C
सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्डु (see iii, 5. 9), C D उड्डु ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

खरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातम्बं^(१) । †सुदृणं^(२) । इंगाला^(३) ।
B.C.D । ‡बुद्धीए^(४) । घेनूए^(५) । नेपुरं^(६) । B C D । कुचापि गच्छति^(७)
कत्य^(८) पि गच्छति^(९) ॥

॥ १ ॥ खरो ॥ रि च भवति ॥ १ ॥

अवर्णस्य स्थाने खरा^(१९) भवन्ति । रि च भवति^(१९) ॥ घृतं घतं^(१४) ।
हत्वा काटण^(१५) । दृष्यते दीसते^(१६) । अषिः^(१७) दसि^(१८) । पृथ्वी^(१९) ।
पुथवी^(२०) । वृद्धः^(२१) वुड्डो^(२२) । वृत्तं^(२३) वेटं^(२४) । उत्थायं उक्कोसं^(२५) ।
अणं रिणं । (C.D) ॥

॥ २ ॥ खरो ॥ रि च भवति ॥ १ ॥

ऐतः^(२६) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ ‡वेतड्डो^(२७) । तेक्षं^(२८) । सेंधवं ।
॥ वैरं^(२९) ॥

॥ ३ ॥ खरो ॥ रि च भवति ॥ १ ॥

* B कर्तव्यं ॥ † B सूचीनां (२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्ध्या ॥ § B वेतालः ॥ ॥ C मम वैरं
केनापि सह न ॥

(१) A कायचं, B कायच, C कायचं, D कायचं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst. Prac. pp. 141. 365); C D add the following Skr. translations कर्तव्यं । खजनं । अंगाराः; see also B in the marginal gloss. (२) A असुदृणं, D सुदृणं ॥ (३) A इंगाल, B इंगाली ॥ (४) A B D बु०; D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D घेनूए ॥ (६) A नेपुरं, B नेऊरं, C नेवरं, D नेउरं ॥ (७) A om. (८) A om., B कत्यं वि, D कच्च वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छति ॥ (१०) B खरो ॥ (११) B om. (१२) B reads अन्यखरो भवति ॥ (१३) A om. (१४) A B C D घृतं ॥ (१५) A काटण, B काडण, C D काकण; D adds कूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसते, D दीसए ॥ (१७) So C; A B D अषि ॥ (१८) So A B C D; C D add व्यास अषिः वास दसो ॥ (१९) A B C D पृथ्वी ॥ (२०) A B C D पुथवी ॥ (२१) A B वृद्धो, C D वुड्डो ॥ (२२) A B D वृत्तं ॥ (२३) A विटं, B वितं, C D विटं ॥ (२४) A उक्कोसं, B उक्कोसो, C उक्क । सं, D उक्कसं (see iii, 8). (२५) A ऐरेतः ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेतड्डो, B वेचड्डो, C D वेचड्डो; C D prefix the Skr. translations वेतालः । तेक्षं । सेंधवं । वैरं; see also B in marg. gloss. * (२८) A तेक्षं ॥ (२९) C D add मम वैरं सह न वि (see marg. gloss). (३०) MS. सूचीनां ॥

ऐतः^(१) स्थाने अद्^(२) च^(३) भवति । हेअर्थ्य^(४) अद्सरियं^(५) । वैर^(६) वद्दर^(७) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर्^(८) औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः^(८) स्थाने ओ^(९) भवति ॥ ^(११)ओसहं^(११) । ^(१२)सोवसलं^(१२) ॥
॥ 9 ॥ अउ^(१५) च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः^(८) स्थाने अउ च^(११) भवति ॥ ^(१०)सउरो^(१०) । कउरवा । कउला । (C D) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्रलोपा^(१६) विसर्जनीयस्य^(१०) ॥ १० ॥

एत औत रलोपा^(११) विसर्जनीयस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ कतरे^(११) गच्छति^(११) । *दिनरूपे^(१४) । देवो । त्वंभणो । पुणरन्नि^(१५) । स११ । एस^(११) । ^(१०)वति^(११) । बुद्धि^(१८) । वैवह्ण^(१८) ।

॥ 11 ॥ ^(१०)अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपा च व्यंजनस्य^(११) ॥ ११ ॥

* C दीप्तिरूपः ॥ † C प्राक्पणः ॥ ‡ C पुनरन्नि । (पुनः अपि) । र प्रत्ययः (ii, 10 पुनर् अपि) । अप्यसोर् चलोपः (ii, 18 पुनरपि) । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 पणरपि) ॥ § C वधूः ॥

(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अद् ॥ (३) C om. B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C हेअर्थ्य ॥ (५) B C D ओरिचं ॥ (६) D वैर ॥ (७) B om.; C D add the example वै वद्, whereto C has the marg. gloss वै स्फुटनिययोः ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B औत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औसहं D ऊसहं ॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D ऊसहं ॥ (१३) C pref. Skr. औसलं, D औसलं ॥ (१४) A सोवसलं, C सोवसलं, D सोवसलं : C D add the example औसं औसं ॥ (१५) B औसो ॥ (१६) B C om. (१७) C D pref. Skr. औतः । औतः । औतः ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A ओ, D ओ, B (corrupt) एदोद्रलोपा ॥ (२०) B औतःस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो द्रलोपा ॥ (२२) A औतरे, B औतः; C D read कतरे and pref. Skr. कतरे गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छति, B C D गच्छति; C D add the example कतःपुनः । कतःपुनः ॥ (२४) A दिनरूपे, B दिनरूपे, D दिनरूपे; C adds औसलं (in marg. gloss औसलं); D औसलं ॥ (२५) D पुणरन्नि; C D pref. Skr. पुणरन्नि; A om. this example; B adds एतं दिद् (MS. एतं दिद्) ॥ (२६) A om. (२७) B C D वद्; C adds Skr. वति, D वति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धि, D बुद्धि; C add originally वद्धि, now it has been changed to वधू; B C D places वद्धि; वद्धि ॥ (२९) A वद्, B वद् ॥ (३०) C D अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपा, om. च ॥ (३१) A निवृत्तिः ।

(^१) अकारानमोऽनुस्वारलोपो च व्यंजनस्य भवन्ति ॥ *चरन्तो(^१) ।
 अरिताम्(^२) । (CD) ॥ कम्(^३) । (CD) । श्वीरम्(^४) ॥ नम्(^५) ।
 ॥ श्वीरम्(^६) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ ॥ दिव्यं वज्रवने(^७) ॥ १२ ॥

(^८) दिवचनं वज्रवचनेन(^९) वाच्यं ॥ **इत्या । पाया । देवा ।
 वंभवा(^{१०}) । CD ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच्(^{११}) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच्(^{११}) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ †नमो(^{१२}) जिगत्सु(^{१३}) । नमो(^{१४})
 गुरुषो(^{१५}) ॥

॥ 13^a ॥ CD ॥ १३^a ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ CD ॥ १३^b ॥

* C चरन्तु । अदानमः ॥ † B सरित् इति अथ तकारस्य च आदानमः ॥ C सरित् ।
 अदानमः ॥ ‡ B कर्ममिति अथ रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic!) ॥ C कर्मन् ॥ § B
 श्रौर्वमित्यथ रेफलोपः (sic!) ॥ C श्रिरस् ॥ ॥ B श्रिरवि(१०) सलोपः ॥ C श्रिरस् ॥ ॥ C
 नुवचने(१८) वज्रवचनं चर्त्तव्यविभक्तौ वज्री(१८) भवत् । जह चत्य तच्च पाया । वंदोमि
 देवाचं(२०) देवाचं ॥ ** C वसौ । पादौ । देवो । प्राकृतौ ॥ †† B नमो जिगत्सु इति
 नमो गुरुषे इत्यथ चतुर्थी षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिगत्सु । नमः गुरुषे ॥

(१) A adds भवन्ति, CD read अकारानमोऽनुस्वारलोपोच ॥ (२) B चरन्तो ॥ (३) A सरिताचं, BCD सरिचाचं ॥ (४) B adds रचं (चर्चं?, see App. CD), D prefixes कर्चन्, श्रौर्वन्, श्रिरसा to कर्चं, श्वीरं, श्वीरचं respectively. (५) A श्वीरम् ॥ (६) B नेचं; ACD om. (७) A om. (८) CD वज्रवचनेन ॥ (९) CD prefix अनाथां आदीनां त्यादीनां च विभक्त्या ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) A वचवा (see ii, 15). (१२) BCD om. (१३) B वज्री, D वज्रीव ॥ (१४) CD वना ॥ (१५) A जिगत्सु, B जिगत्सु, CD जिगत्सु ॥ (१६) CD add नमो चरचमाचं ॥ (१७) MS. श्रिरवि ॥ (१८) MS. वज्रवच् ॥ (१९) MS. now has चर्त्तव्यविभक्तौ, om. वज्री; but in the place of it and in there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाचि (of 1, 6).

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतच्छब्दाः^(१) ॥ १४ ॥

(१) सुता वर्णाः (२) छकारश्चकारौ च^(२) न भवति ॥ CD । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो वृद्धं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य कश्चिद् लोपो भवति । कश्चिद् आगमः^(३) । कश्चित् प्रकृतिः^(४) ।
CD ॥ वंभणा^(५) । *मंजरो^(६) । विंशुषो^(७) । विंशुनी^(८) । काणं^(९) ।
काहं^(१०) । नईहिं^(११) ॥ संस्कृतं^(१२) । (CD) ॥ संगो^(१३) । भंगो^(१४) ।
(CD) । दुद्धं^(१५) । समिद्धं^(१६) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि^(१७) ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि^(१७) इति^(१८) भवति निपातेन ॥ टैगावी^(१९) ।
गावीशो^(२०) । गावीं^(२१) । गावीण^(२२) । गावीहिं^(२३) । गावीहितो^(२४) ।
गावीणं^(२५) । गावीसुं^(२६) ॥

*C साकारः ॥ †C चूषः (of. note १०). ‡C संस्कृतं ॥ §C गौः । गावः or गाः ।
गौ । गवा । गेः । गेः । गवि (see i, 9.) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवां or गोवां । गोषु ॥

(१) CD insert न (see iii, 16). (२) C सुतच्छब्दाः, D सुताः ॥ (३) CD read
अनुस्वारश्चकारश्चकारौ च भवति ॥ (४) B om. (५) CD -सो भवति ॥ (६) CD
मंजरो भवति (see App.). (७) D वंभणा ॥ (८) So A; B मंजरो (see H. C. ii, 132);
CD read संस्कारो (see H. C. i, 26) and add वंभरो (see H. C. ii, 132); D
further adds चावस ॥ (९) A om., B विंशुषो; D has विंशुष with प्रकृति after it;
C reads विंशुष which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंशुषः । प्रकृतिः ॥
(१०) A चूषो, B चूषो, C चूषो, D चूषो ॥ (११) So A; B काहं (काहूषं? see ii,
9) CD काहं (see H. C. i, 27). (१२) A काहं, B काहं (काहूषं? see Lesson,
p. 265, H. C. iv, 214). (१३) CD हिं; D gives it as an example of शेषः;
C explains it in the marginal gloss as गवी; originally the gloss had गवि,
but it has been corrected to गवी ॥ (१४) A om., B D सङ्गतं ॥ (१५) CD om.,
but see App. (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपातेन CD
अपि गावो भवति ॥ (१९) D गावि, CD गावी ॥ (२०) A गावीच, B गाविच, D गावीच,
CD add गावीच, गावी ॥ (२१) A B om. (२२) A D गावीर, B गावीर ॥ (२३) A
गावीर, D गावीर ॥ (२४) D गावीर ॥ (२५) D गावीर; CD add गावीर ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एवार्थे ^(१)णदस्येयचियाः ^(२) ॥ १७ ॥

(१) एव शब्दार्थे णद (१)स्येय चिय एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ गत्या एव
(२)गति णद । (३)मति णद । *तं सेय(१) । †सचिय(२) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अयस्योर अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि असि च ^(५) एतयोर अस्य लोपो भवति ^(६) ॥ ^(१०)सूरो पि ।
^(११)कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ ^(१२)क्तं ता चा दृक्तं तृण ^(१३)ओ ^(१४)पि ^(१५)पूर्वकालार्थे ^(१६) ॥ १८ ॥

एते ^(१७)पूर्वकालार्थे ^(१८)भवन्ति ॥ वंदिक्तु ^(१९) । वंदित्ता ^(२०) । टेषुषा ^(२१) ।
॥ क्तु । †भोक्तु ^(२२) । †भोक्तू ^(२३) । †वदिओ ^(२४) । ^(२५)एवं कपि** ।
C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ मत्वर्थे ^(२६)आनदो ^(२७) ॥ २० ॥

* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वंदित्ता ॥ § B तुला । C भुक्ता (see note ११
॥ B C कला ॥ ¶ C भुक्ता(१८). ** B एव कला ॥

(१) A B नद० ॥ (२) A •वेय चिय, B •चियेम् ॥ (३) B एवं ॥ (४) A B C D गद ॥
(५) A C नद चद, B नद चद, D om. whole example, C prefixes Skr. सत्या एव ॥
(६) A तमेव, D तं सेय; C pref. Skr. तं एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B; A •चिय (चिय? see p. 20, note ११), C •चिय, D •सेय; C D pref. Skr. स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्नात् ॥ (१०) A B C D चि; C D pref. Skr. transl. श्रुतः अपि। कृतम् अपि। तम् असि चय ॥ (११) A कथं पि, B कथं प्यि, C D कथं चि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥ (१३) C D add तुषा ॥ (१४) D उ; C D add चि ॥ (१५) C D om., but add प्यिक्तु वेयिक्तु ॥ (१६) So A; B C D om. (१७) B D om. (१८) B C पूर्वकालार्थे; C adds ता इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (१९) A वंदितु, B वदिक्तु; C D add सत्ये चि जिनिदचंदे । वंदित्ता सर्वान् अपि जिनेत्रचंद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वंदीता ॥ (२१) A तुषा, C D तुषा ॥ (२२) D भोक्तु ॥ (२३) C भोक्तू, D भोक्तू or भोक्तृ?; C D add काचकाच, see App. (२४) A वदिदं, D वदिच; C D add वंदेचि ॥ (२५) A एव क०, B एवं क०; C D om. this example. (२६) A आनद D नद ॥ (२७) A एव, B ईद्वर ॥ (२८) MS. भोक्ता.

मत्वर्थे^(१) एतौ प्रत्ययौ^(१) भवतः^(१) ॥ ^(४)जडालो^(५) जडिल्लो^(१) ।
फडालो^(७) फडिल्लो^(८) । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ताताव^(९) तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् छन्दस्^(१०) ता तावो^(११) भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विच्छिन्नं^(१२) गयणं ताव च्चिय^(१३) जलहिणो^(१४) पि^(१५) गंभीरा ।

ता^(१६) गुह्या^(१७) सुरसेला^(१८) धारेहि^(१९) न^(२०) जाव ज्ञान्ते^(२१) ॥ २१ ॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिव इव विव विव^(२२) व्य^(२३) वजहा^(२४) वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे^(२५) वतः^(२६) शब्दस् एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ चंदणं^(२७)
पिव । चमरमिव । टैकमलं विव तुङ्ग^(२८) मुहं । गिन्धो^(२९) विव ।
सायरव्य^(३०) ।

* C तावत् विच्छिन्नं गगनं तावत् एव जलधयः च गंभीराः । यावत् गुह्यः सुरशैलः
क्षाराभिः न यावत् गृह्यते ॥ † C गुह्या । गुह्यः । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 गुह्यो) । खरो०
(ii, 4 गुह्या) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चंदणं । अनुसारे ब्रह्मं (ii, 15). § C तव
मुहं कमलवत् (२१) ॥

(१) B om., C D add आल दल ॥ (२) A om. (३) A स्यः ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr.
translations जडालम् । फडालम् ॥ (५) A जडालो ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places १, ५.
(७) A फडालो; B orig. फडालो, but corrected to फडालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो.
placing ८, ७. (९) C D read ताताव-जा-जावाच् तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add
यावच्छब्दस् तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजौ ॥ (१२) A विच्छिन्नं, C D विच्छिन्नं ॥ (१३) A
चिय, C D चिय ॥ (१४) B जलहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा; A
om. this line. (१७) D गुह्या ॥ (१८) B सुरसेल ॥ (१९) B धारेहि, c. m. (२०) C D
न ॥ (२१) B जा तुल्यं ज्ञान्ति, C D जाव तुल्यं ज्ञान्ति ॥ (२२) B विव ॥ (२३) D व्य (see H.
C. ii, 150). (२४) B वजहा (sic). (२५) A om., C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमानार्थे; B adds
पिव इव विव विव व्य व जहा ॥ (२६) A वच् ख०, C वत्, D वत ॥ (२७) A B वं०; C D
prefix the Skr. translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS. चमरं वत्) । कमलवत् ।
श्रीकण्ठवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषवत् ॥ (२८) A तुङ्ग, B तुङ्ग ॥ (२९) C गिन्ध,
D गिन्ध ॥ (३०) D सायरव्य, A अक्षोपव्य, B धोव्यो ॥ (३१) MS. कमल विव ॥

येससु व^(१) एव^(२) फणो तुष्ट^(३) भाति^(४) जशो जश संशो^(५) ॥
॥ 23 ॥ ओत्वम्^(६) अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अवअपयोः स्थाने ओ^(७) भवति ॥ अवहसितं^(८) ओहसितं^(९)
अपसरितं^(१०) ओसरितं^(११) । अपवरकः^(१२) ओवरओ^(१३) ॥
॥ 24 ॥ खलोः^(१४) खुः ॥ २४ ॥

खलुश्चस्य खुर आदेशो भवति ॥ C D । एवं खु^(१५) जंतपीलणं
॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे^(१६) ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे^(१७) आन प्रत्ययस्^(१८) तस्यार्थे तकारो भवति
भिद्यमानं^(१९) भिज्जंतं । कथ्यमानं कथिज्जंतं^(२०) । साध्यमानं^(२१)
साहिज्जंतं^(२२) । A ॥
॥ 26 ॥ ॥ २२ ॥ भे संवासु युग्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

(२३) युग्मश्च कृद्स्य संवासु^(२४) विभक्तिषु^(२५) भे^(२६) भवति ॥ C D ।
निसानेय^(२७) द्युयं निश्चन्यत^(२८) । C D । भे भणामि द्युयान् भणामि
भे कतं^(२९) त्वया कृतं । C D ॥

* C एव (फणः) तव भाति दशः संख्यम्^(३१) ॥ † C खु इति अक्षयं निश्चयार्थे
‡ C जंतपीलणं ॥

(१) A च ॥ (२) C येस ॥ (३) A दह ॥ (४) A B C D भाट ॥ (५) D संश, C I
place संशो जश c. m. (६) A B D उत्त्वम् ॥ (७) B ओट् ॥ (८) B O अवहसितं ॥ (९)
A B ओहसितं, C ओहसितं, D उहसितं, B adds अपहसितं ओहसितं ॥ (१०) B ओ
(११) A B C ओसरितं, D उसरितं ॥ (१२) A अपवरकः, B अपवरकः ॥ (१३) B ओ
रओ, D उवरओ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुल्लं, दोखलं ॥ (१६) A • कतं
ये ॥ (१७) C D om. कालः, B • मानस कालार्थे ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थे, om. च
(१९) A भिद्यमानं, B भिद्यमानं, C भेद्यं ॥ (२०) A कथि, B C D कथि ॥ (२१) B
om. (२२) B ओहि ॥ (२३) C D place this sūtra after i, 25 (i. e. after i, 25 of
their own reckoning; see App. C D). (२४) B युग्मदः ॥ (२५) B C D यु
यि ॥ (२६) A adds परतो ॥ (२७) B नेट् ॥ (२८) C D पि ॥ (२९) So D A भे
कृतं ॥ (३०) A B कतं, C D कथं ॥ (३१) MS. चं ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१) अक्षरी प्रपि (१) ॥ २७ ॥

प्रकाश इत्यस्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु भे भवति (१) ॥ CD । O ।
नेहेन (१) भणानो भे तुष्टे (१) वयं युष्मान् खेहेन (१) भणानः । O । इत्य
अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27^a—27ⁱ ॥ CD ॥ २७^a—२७ⁱ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय (१) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे तणः (१) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्ये (१) तणः (१) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११) गामतणं । नयरत्तणं (११) ॥
। 29^a ॥ CD ॥ २९^a ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (११) श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे (११) (११) सारविधानं (११) द्वितीयं
समाप्तं (१०) ॥ २ ॥

(1) C D place this sūtra after i, 81 (i. e. after i, 81^a of their own reckoning, see App. CD). (१) C D add भे सम्बाद्ध ॥ (२) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has चक्षुः (३) C D खेहेन । (४) B अक्षरी । (५) A इय । (६) A B तणः । (७) A भावेत्ये । (८) A तणः B तणः । (९) C D pref. the Skr. translations गामतणः । नयरत्तणः । (१०) B C D add श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे । (११) A om. from श्री to समाप्तं । (१२) B om. सारः । (१३) A भावस्य । (१४) A om.

III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ ॐ ॥ शङ्ख^(१) यवौ^(१) लोथ्यौ^(१) ॥ १ ॥

(०) हान् इकारात्^(१) यकारवकारौ परच^(२) अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥
मुञ्चते मुञ्चते^(३) । दञ्चते^(४) दञ्चते^(५) । (१०) विङ्गलः विङ्गलो^(११) ।
जिङ्गल^(१२) जिङ्गल^(१३) ॥

॥ २ ॥ (१४) अवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं (१५) ॥ २ ॥

ब्रह्मोत्पत्तिः (१६) परं (१७) ध्वजं लोभं भवति ॥ (१८) स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं (१९)
 सगं । अतोयं सोतव्यं (२०) । कायं कव्यं (२१) । शब्दं (२२) सक्तं । विष्णं (२३)
 विष्णं । ब्रह्मं (२४) सक्तं । अतं सुतं (२५) । शेषा सिद्धा (२६) ॥

॥ ३ ॥ वर्गः (१३) ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गः^(१८) च परे तत् लोप्य^(१९) भवति^(२०) ॥ शक्तः^(२१) । सप्तो^(२२) ॥ रत्नं^(२३)
रत्नं^(२४) । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वच्मि^(२५) वेमि । ^(२६)पदं लङ्^(२७) ।

(१) A वा । (२) A वै । (३) D होयो । (४) A om. comment वात् to जगतः ।
 (५) D om., C वादकाराद् । (६) B परभावे स्थितौ । (७) B om., C D सम्यग्र, A
 सम्यक् । (८) A B om. (९) A om., B दभ्य, C उभ्य, D दभ्य । (१०) A om.
 this example. (११) B विक्रो । (१२) A om. (१३) B जिष्वा । (१४) D व० ।
 (१५) B adds होय । (१६) A रतेभ्यो ; B om. ज्व० to सवति । (१७) The examples
 are rearranged ; their order in A is २०, २१, २३, २४, om. all the others ; B has
 २०, २१, २२, २२, २२, २२, २२, २२ ; C D have १८, १८, २७, २०, २१, २२, २२, २४, om.
 २३ (see iii, ७) . (१८) A C सोचय, B सोचय (corrupt for सोचय), D सोचय । (१९)
 A वाच, D वच । (२०) C D वच । (२१) A वाच, B वच ; C D om. this example
 (२२) C विष्वा । (२३) B om. (२४) B वच । (२५) B वच । (२६) B C D
 वच । (२७) B वच । (२८) B वच । (२९) B वच । (३०) B वच । (३१) B वच ।
 (३२) B adds वच वच । (३३) B वच । (३४) B वच । (३५) B वच । (३६) B वच ।
 (३७) B adds वच वच । (३८) B वच । (३९) B वच । (४०) B वच ।

॥ ७ ॥ दो वे^(१) ॥ ७ ॥

इकारो (१)वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ दारं वारं । वेति किं ।
दारं^(१) ॥

॥ ८ ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा^(१) लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्कटं उक्कोसं^(१) ।
(१)स्पष्टं फुटं^(०) ॥ (८)पुटं । (८)उक्किटं ॥

॥ ९ ॥ (१०)रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

(११)सर्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्वस्य^(११) च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तत्तं ।
तत्तं । अर्कः^(१२) अक्को । मुखः सुक्खो^(१३) । (१४)न्यपोधः निग्गोहो^(१५) । ख्मं
सग्गं । ब्रीघः सिग्घो^(१६) । अर्धः अग्घो^(१७) । अर्चनं^(१८) अचणं । वज्जं वज्जं^(१९) ।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उद्गः उट्ठो^(२०) । सुवर्णं सुवणं । शत्रुः सत्तू^(२१) । कर्त्तव्यं का-
तव्यं^(२२) । कर्दमं कद्दमं । जज्जं^(२३) उट्ठं^(२४) । प्रवरः^(२५) पवरो^(२६) । C D । सर्पः
सप्पो । विभ्रमः विव्भमो । दर्भः दब्भो । आसं अवं^(२७) । धर्मः धम्मो । हर्षः
सुब्भो । व्रतं वतं^(२८) । पर्वतः पव्वतो^(२९) । अतं सुतं^(३०) । ब्रह्मः ब्रह्मो । C D ॥

(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B दारं ; C D add देरं दुवारं ॥ (४) B C om. (५) C D उत्कटं (see iii, 29 and App. C ४ in iii, ३), B उक्कोसं । (६) B स्पष्टं ; C D om. the remainder. (७) B फुटं (? फुटं) (८) A om., B places ट, ७. (९) A om. ; B उक्किटं, repeating उत्कटं before it. (१०) B om. the sutra ; A रेफः, C D रेफः ॥ (११) B om. commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्वस्य चवच ॥ (१३) A om. this example ; D places it before तत्तं ॥ (१४) A मुखो, B सुक्खो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder. (१६) C D सि० ॥ (१७) B ब्रीघो ॥ (१८) D adds अचणं चवो ॥ (१९) B om., up to वज्जं incl. (२०) D repeats वज्जं ॥ (२१) C उट्ठो, and C D add उट्ठो डाटा ॥ (२२) B कर्त्तव्यं ॥ (२३) B C D काव्यं, and place this example before the preceding one. (२४) B चोडं, C उट्ठं, D उट्ठं ॥ (२५) C पवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवरः ॥ (२६) B प्रवरो, D पवरो ॥ (२७) B अवं, C अवं, D अवं (see H. C. ii, 56). (२८) B वतं, C D वतं ॥ (२९) B C D पव्वतो ॥ (३०) So B ; C D सुतं ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ^(१)प्रयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवन्ति ॥ इदं धर् । लभो ^(२)
चंभो ॥

॥ 11 ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गीणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ ^(३)
भवतः ॥ भास्वरः भक्खरो । निखयः निच्छयो ^(४) । ^(५)दुष्टं दुङ् ^(६) । ^(७)लभः
चंभो ^(८) । पद्व ^(९) फद्वसं ^(१०) । विलयते ^(११) विज्जते ^(१२) । ^(१३)दंष्ट्रा दाढा ^(१४) ।
मथुरा मधुरा ^(१५) । नायः नाधो ^(१६) ॥

॥ 11' ॥ C D ॥ ११' ॥

॥ 12 ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

^(१७)प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थकरः ^(१८)
तित्यगरो ^(१९) । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं ^(२०) । प्रति-
पिङ्गं पडिपिङ्गं ^(२१) । C D । ^(२२)प्रच्छे वुच्छे ॥

॥ 13 ॥ हो ^(२३)खद्यभानां ॥ १३ ॥

^(२४)खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां ^(२५) स्थाने हकारो भवति ^(२६) ॥

*

(१) C D om. this sūtra and its commentary. (२) A* लभः, B लभो ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A निद्वुष, B निद्वज, C निद्वषो, D निद्वष ॥ (५) A om. this example. (६) C D • हो ॥ (७) D adds चंभो (see iii, 10, 19). (८) A B C पुवर्च, D पुवर्चः ॥ (९) A पुवर्च, B पुवर्च, C पुर्चि, D परिचो; B C D add वृचं वृचं (see iii, 18). (१०) A निद्वष, B निद्वषते, C D निद्वषे ॥ (११) A B विज्जर, C D विज्जर; ॐ H. C. II, 28; and as to om for उज्ज, see p. 20 footnote 28; p. 10, n. 7; p. 27, n. 13; p. 80, n. 7. (१२) B दंष्ट्रा, C दाढा, D दंष्ट्रा ॥ (१३) A B C D पद्वरा ॥ (१४) A दाढा, B दाढो; C D read दादिनादा दादिनादा ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, दादिनादा पिसाजी; om. all the rest. (१६) B तीर्थकरः ॥ (१७) B तित्यगरो, D तित्यगरो ॥ (१८) B कृतं ॥ (१९) B पडिपिङ्गं ॥ (२०) Conjectural; B प्रच्छे, C D om. this example. (२१) C D om. व (see note ६ in iii, 11.). (२२) C D om. वुच्छे ॥ (२३) A खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां ॥ (२४) A om. comm., up to लभो ॥

(१) सुहं सुहं । (१) मेघः मेघो । (१) मधवः मधवो । सुभः (१) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ यस्य (१) खड्गः (१) ॥ १४ ॥

(१) यकारस्य स्थाने खड्गः (१) भवति ॥ भिन्ना भिन्ना । यस्मिन्ः
खड्गो (१) । पाषाणः पाषाणो । दध दध ॥

॥ 15 ॥ यस्य जः ॥ १५ ॥

(१) यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुवणं । सूर्यः सुजो ।
याचा जन्ता ॥

॥ 16^a ॥ C D ॥ १५^c ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः (१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निचं (११) ।
(१) पथं पथं (१२) । विद्या विज्ञा । (१) वंध्या वंध्या (१३) । नृत्यं नटं (१४) ।
स्थितः ठितो (१५) । (१६) दंडः डंडो (१७) । दग्धः (१८) दड्डो (१९) । C D । धान्यं
धनं (२०) । C D ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युद्धदो यस्य (११) तः ॥ १७ ॥

युद्धसंबन्धिनो यकारस्य (११) तकारो भवति (११) ॥ तुष्टेर्हि (११) ॥

॥ 17^a ॥ C D ॥ १७^a ॥

(१) C D om. this example (see p. 26, note e in iii, 11). (१) A om. this example. (१) A B हवो । (१) B च खड्गः । (१) A ००० ॥ (१) A has only खड्गः । पाषाणो पाषाणो । दध दध, om. the rest. (१) B खड्गः ॥ (१) B D वसुहो । (१) A only खड्गः, om. the whole commentary. (१०) A only खड्गः, om. up to यवतः ॥ (११) C D निचं ॥ (१२) B पंथा with Skr. पंथा ॥ (१३) B D वंध्या ॥ C originally वंध्या, with marginal correction ००० ॥ (१४) C D नटं ॥ (१५) A ठितो । B C D ठितो । (१६) A om. the remainder. (१७) B दंडो, D डंडो । (१८) दग्धो । (१९) B दड्डो, C ०००, D दड्डो । (२०) B धान्यं, D धानं । (२१) B धनं । A om. up to यवति । (२२) A तुष्टेर्हि, B तुष्टेर्हि ; C D add कर्त्तुं । यकारस्य तः ।

॥ 18 ॥ रघषाणां^(१) सः ॥ १८ ॥

(१) रघषकारवकाराणां^(१) स्थाने ^(२)सकारो भवति ॥ शिर^(३) खंभ- ।

(१) रघषौ सवौ^(०) । आमिषं आमिषं^(०) ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजयानां रनखाः^(५) ॥ १९ ॥

(१) हजयानां स्थाने रनखाः^(५) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं^(६) ॥ * गृहं घरं ।
(०) हजानं नानं^(०) । C D । (०) खंभः^(११) खंभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरहाणां घणझाः^(१२) ॥ २० ॥

(१२) गरहाणां स्थाने घणझाः^(१२) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं ॥ (०) गृहं घरं ।
करवीरः^(१५) कणवीर्ये^(१५) । C D । (०) वाद्यः वज्झो^(१९) । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडहानां^(१०) वलभाः^(१८) ॥ २१ ॥

(१९) मडहानां स्थाने^(१०) यथाक्रमं वलभा भवन्ति^(१९) ॥ मन्मथः^(१९)
वन्मथो^(१९) । षोडश^(१७) षोडस^(१५) । (०) जिह्वा जिह्वा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ यवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

(१०) यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो^(१८) भवति^(१९) ॥ पर्यंकः पङ्क्तिको^(१०) ।

(१) B •नां ॥ (२) A only रषां ॥ (३) B •सकारव• ॥ (४) A ससु स्थानं ॥ (५) B शिर ॥ (६) B रघषौ ॥ (७) A om. this example. (८) C D रघषं ॥ (९) B C D om. this clause. (१०) B जानं, C D जाहं ॥ (११) D खंभः (Prākṛit खंभो, see iii, 11). (१२) A घनघा, B •घा, D घघ• ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्यं भवन्ति सखं ॥ (१४) B घघघा, D घघघा ॥ (१५) A •वीरं ॥ (१६) B वन्मो ॥ (१७) A B C D •षां; but C with marginal correction •नां ॥ (१८) B व• ॥ (१९) D •वाहो; but B C •वाहो ॥ (२०) B D om. (२१) A only सखं, om. up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B •मो ॥ (२३) A C वन्मथो, B मन्मथो, D वन्मथो ॥ (२४) B D •मः, A B वृ for व ॥ (२५) B षोडश ॥ (२६) So A; B om. sūtra; C D read वषोर् ॥ (२७) So A; B ववयोर्; but C D ववयोर्, see below note २८. (२८) A व्यत्यासं ॥ (२९) A व्यासः; in C D, this follows the example पापं पापं (see iii, 12 in App. C D), after which comes the sūtra रघषोर् व्यत्यासः, to which are assigned पङ्क्तिकः etc. as examples (see App. C D). (३०) A B •नां; C D add पङ्क्तिकः पङ्क्तिकः ॥

(१) वेदुल्योः (१) वेदुल्योः (१) । यथोदय तैरह । (१) दृष्टः दृष्टोः (१) । C D ॥

॥ २४ ॥ ग्रहयोः (१) लोपे नष्टमानाम् अधो (१) होऽपदादौ (१) स्थितानां ॥ २४ ॥

नष्टमानां, संबंधिनौ यौ ग्रहौ (१) तयोः लोपे हकारागमो भवति ।

(१) लोपे (१) अपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्थो (१) । दृष्ट्या तद्वत् (१) ।

यस्मात् नष्टा (१) । B C D । C D । (१) दृष्ट्याति निपद्यति (१) । वज्रिः

वन्धो (१) । जिह्वाः जिह्वो (१) । B । (१) अपदादाव् इति किं । अथान्वय (१)

मथान् ॥

॥ २४ ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाक्षरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य (१) द्वित्वं भवति (१) ॥ (१) दुर्गा दुग्मा ।

B C D । व्याघ्रः वग्धो ॥

॥ २५ ॥ (१) कश्चिद् अलोपे ऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

(१) कश्चिद् अलोपे ऽपि द्वित्वं भवति ॥ न ज्ञायते न (१) नञ्जते (१) ।

(१) वाध्यते वाह्यजते (१) ॥

(१) A om. this example. (१) C D वेदुल्योः ॥ (१) B वेदुल्योः, C वेदुल्योः, D वेदुल्योः ॥ (१) D वन्धो ॥ (१) So B; A C D सन् ॥ (१) A om. सन् ॥ (१) Conjectural; the MSS reading is corrupt; B throws sūtra and commentary into one and reads ग्र० लो० नष्ट० यथो पदावस्थानां यो भवति; A has अपदावस्थानानां; C originally पदावस्थानानां, corrected in margin to अपदावस्थानानां; D पदावस्थानानां ॥ (१) A C D सकारवकारौ ॥ (१) B om. this clause. (१) Conjectural; A D read: अपदावस्थानानां, C अपदावस्थानानां ॥ (१) C D पन्थो ॥ (१) B निपद्यति; A adds कश्चिद् कश्चो (see App. B C D). (१) A D कश्चिद् ॥ (१) A om. the remainder up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१) B दृष्ट्याति, C D निपद्यति ॥ (१) C D वज्रिः; B places this example after निपद्यति (see App. B). (१) C D place the examples thus: ११, १२, १३, १४, १५, १६. (१) So C; A अपदादावति, B अपदादावति, C अपदादावति ॥ (१) B O D अथान्वय ॥ (१) D निपद्यति; B adds च after it. (१) A अथान्वय ॥ (१) C D दुर्गाः दुग्माः ॥ (१) A om. the sūtra. (१) B कश्चिद् अलोपे ? ॥ (१) C D व ॥ (१) A B वज्रिः, C D वज्रिः; C D add वज्रिः तैरह ॥ (१) C D वज्रिः ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः^(१) प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्वित्वे वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने^(१) प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ शौख्यं सुखं^(२) । ^(३)अर्थः अर्थो । पथं पथं^(४) । साधः^(५) सधो^(६) । सधः सधो^(७) । सधः सधो^(८) । पार्थः पथो^(९) । वर्धमानः वद्धमानो^(१०) । पुष्यं पुष्यं । जिह्वा जिह्वा^(११) ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां^(१२) मुक्तामुक्तविशेषाणां द्वित्वे स एव भवति ॥ ^(१३)अर्कः अर्को । सत्यं सच^(१४) । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न प्रदादौ^(१५) ॥ २८ ॥

प्रदादौ^(१६) द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोहो^(१७) । ^(१८)बुद्धः बुद्धो^(१९) । ^(२०)प्रदादाव् इति किं । ^(२१)भद्रः भद्रो^(२२) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ कश्चिद् अन्यथापि ॥ २९ ॥

कश्चित् पदमध्येऽवसाने^(२३) च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः^(२४) काश्यवो । ^(२५)वैश्रवणः वैश्रवणो^(२६) । स्पृष्टुं^(२७) फुटं^(२८) । ^(२९)कर्णव्यं

(१) A •चतुर्थयोः, B •चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B; B संयोगात्; C D संयोगात् ॥

(३) A शौख्यं (for शौख्यं ? but see iii, 5). (४) A om. the remainder. (५) B सधः; so also C now; but originally C seems to have had पथं ॥ (६) D साधः ॥ (७) D सधः, B सधो ॥ (८) B सधो, D सधो ॥ (९) B •धो, C •धो, D •धो ॥ (१०) D वद्धो ॥ (११) B वद्धमानो, C वद्धमानो, D वद्धमानो (for वद्धो); but comp. App. A, ii, 26 (as to •धो for •धो), and App. C D, iii, 16. (१२) B जिह्वा ॥ (१३) So A; B originally सुद्धविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into वद्धविशेषाणां; the latter is also the reading of C D (see App. B C D). (१४) B सचो सचो ॥ (१५) B सच ॥ (१६) C सचो ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुद्धः क्रुद्धो ॥ (१८) A om. this example. (१९) B सधो, D सधो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्र ॥ (२२) A भद्रा, B भद्र ॥ (२३) So C; A अवसाने, B D अवसाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यपः ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पृष्टुं ॥ (२७) A फुटं, D फुटं ॥

कातव्य^(१) । शीर्ष^(२) वीचो^(३) । शीर्षः शीरो^(४) । ^(५)उच्चर्यं उच्चोच^(५) ॥

॥ ३३ ॥ संयोगोष्ठस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥ ३० ॥

इचोर्^(१) व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये इष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अग्नौ^(२) ।
विशेषः विसर्गो^(३) । ^(४)ब्रह्मः पल्लवो । ^(५)रत्नं रतणं^(५) । वर्षं वरिसं^(६) ।
CD । सूर्यः सूरियो^(७) । ^(८)सर्वपः सरिषो^(८) । ^(९)वैदूर्यः^(९)
वेदुलियो^(१०) । ^(११)स्त्रा खिमा^(१०) । ^(१२)सूक्ष्मं सुज्जनं^(११) । ^(१३)पदुमं^(१२) । CD ॥

॥ ३१ ॥ यवचोर्^(१३) इदुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः^(१४) स्थाने ^(१५)इकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ ययोदश्च तेरश्च^(१५) ।
CD । भवति हेति^(१६) ॥

॥ ३२ ॥ ^(१७)संख्यायाम्^(१७) तिग्रयोर् लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

^(१८)संख्यायाः ^(१९)संबंधितिग्रयोर् लोपो भवति^(१८) ॥ ^(२०)विंशतिः बीसा ।
पंचाशत् पञ्चा^(२१) ॥

॥ ३३ ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

(१) BCD कातव्य; C adds कातव्य ॥ (२) A शीर्ष, B शीर्ष, CD शीर्ष ॥
(३) A वीचो, B वीच ॥ (४) A om. this example. (५) B उच्चर्यं, CD उच्चर्यं
(see iii. 8). (६) B repeats इचोर् after अग्निः ॥ (७) B अग्निः ॥ (८) A विसर्गः ॥
(९) A om. this example; BCD place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) BCD रतणं ॥
(११) A वरिसं ॥ (१२) AD सरिष, BC सरिषो ॥ (१३) B om. this example;
probably by oversight; as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs
in A CD together. (१४) ABCD सरिषो; CD add वर्षं वरिसं ॥ (१५) CD
वैदूर्यः ॥ (१६) A वेदुलिष, B वेदुलिषो, C वेदुलिषो, D वेदुलिष; CD add
वर्षं वरिसं ॥ (१७) So A; CD वसा ॥ (१८) So CD; B पञ्चाशत् ॥ (१९) B पञ्चाशत्, CD
पञ्चाशत् ॥ (२०) A यवचोर् ॥ (२१) BOD यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) BOD इदुतौ ॥
(२३) A तेरश्च; B om. by mistake, as it gives only बीसा, omitting इदुतौ and तेरश्च ॥
(२४) A B C जेद; D जेदश्च (sic); A B place the examples ३३, ३४, but CD ३३
३४ ॥ (२५) D repeats वीसा ॥ (२६) B विंशतिः ॥ (२७) D om. (२८) D वीसा ॥
(२९) A वीसा ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) CD वीसा ॥

(१) संख्यासमं धिनस् तकारस्य (१) न (१) लोपो (१) भवति ॥ पंचपञ्चाशत् (१)
(१) पञ्चपञ्चाशत् ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (१) कर्तृतीययोः स्तरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गद्वितीयस्य च स्तरे (८) परे लोपो भवति ॥ (८) कोकिलः (१)
कोरलो (१) । (१) भौगिकः भोदन्नो । (१) राजी राई । (८) प्रतिकूलः
परकुलो (१) । नदी नई (१) । B C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्त्ते (१) ॥ ३५ ॥

(१) ककारवर्गद्वितीययोर् अवर्त्ते परे यत्वं भवति ॥ C D । काकाः
काया । नागाः नाया (१) । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

यवस्या वर्षावस्थानं (८) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या (८) ॥ अर्कः अर्को ।
(१) सूर्यः सूरियो (१) । भिवा भिक्वा । लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मी (१) । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो उपभ्रंजे (१) ऽधो (१) रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

(१) A om. (१) B C D तस्य ॥ । (१) B C D om. (१) A लोपः, om. भवति ॥
(१) B पञ्चाशत्, and prefixes विंशति त्रिंशति चौरा, repeating the latter by mistake from
the previous sūtra. (१) A पञ्चपञ्चाशत्, B D पञ्चपञ्चाशत्, C पञ्चपञ्चाशत् ॥ (१) C D have an
altogether different sūtra and commentary, see App. C D. (८) Inserted ; A B
om. (१) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (१) A कोकिलः ॥
(१) A कोरलो ॥ (१) A om. this example. (१) B राजी राई ॥ (१) A
अर्कः सूर्यः । सूर्यः सूर्यो (MS. सूर्य सूर्य) ; B adds many more examples, see
App. B. (१) C काकाः, D काकाः ; A adds ककारवर्गद्वितीययोः ॥ (१) So B ; A corrupt
ककारवर्गद्वितीययोः ककारवर्गद्वितीययोः स्तरे (अवर्त्ते परे रतयोर् यत्वं स्तरे?) ; but C D read
differently, see App. C D. (१) C D सूर्यः । (१) A B • सूर्यः ॥ (१) So A ;
B C D • सूर्यः ॥ (१) A om. the remainder. (१) B C D सूरियो । (१) Here C D
terminate this chapter, see App. C D. (१) D • सूर्यः । (१) B om. सो सूर्यः ॥

(१) अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरचु^(१) । यामो^(२) । (४) बाघो
प्रसि^(५) आदि ॥

॥ 38 ॥ पैशाचिकां रणयोर्^(१) लनौ^(२) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिकां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । एकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले^(५) अले
दुडलकलसा पनमत^(१०) (११) पनयिद्धितासा ॥

॥ 39 ॥ मागधिकायां रसयोर् लनौ^(१२) ॥ ३९ ॥

मागधिकायां रेफस्य लकारो भवति ॥ (१४) चंदकलनिकछं
हवति । श्रे^(१५) । हंशे^(१६) । पयस्ने^(१७) ॥ C D ॥

॥ 39' ॥ C D ३९' ॥

॥ (१८) ३१ ॥ ३९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सुचाण्य अत्र ३९ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति (१९) श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षण (२०) व्यञ्जनविधानं (२१) तृतीयं

(२२) समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ (२३) इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं^(२४) ॥

* Ed. वरचं । यामः । बाघः प्रसिद्धा यति ॥ A and C om. the interpunctuation between व० and घा०, B has it; A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and प्रसि०; D om. it throughout. † Ed. अले अले दुडलकलसाः प्रपन्नत प्रपयिद्धितासाः ॥

(१) B om. (२) B वरच, D वरचु ॥ (३) A गज, B गज, C D पयो ॥ (४) A om. this example, B बाघः, D बाघो; C D prefix the Skr. बाघः ॥ (५) C D प्रसि ॥ (६) B om. (७) B लनौ ॥ (८) D चरे ॥ (९) A दुडलकलसा, B दुडलकलसा, C दुडलकलसा, D दुडलकलसा ॥ (१०) So C; A पनमत, B पनमत, C पनमते ॥ (११) A रद्विषासा om. पन, B पुनरद्विषासा, C पनरद्विषासा, D पनरद्विषासा; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुनरद्विषासा (sic), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लनौ ॥ (१३) B लनौ ॥ (१४) A चंदकलनिकछं; B चंदकलो कलनिकछं; B in the margin explains कलनिकछं by the Skr. करेति; C D चं चरदि ॥ (१५) A श्रे, B श्रे; C D prefix the Skr. श्रेः ॥ (१६) A B हंशे, D om.; C D prefix the Skr. चंशः ॥ (१७) A पयस्ने, B पयस्ने, C D om. (१८) B C D om. this remark. (१९) A लते, B om. लते ॥ (२०) C D read मागधनविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter; their third chapter terminates with sūtra 36; see App. C D. (२१) C चतुर्थं, D चतुर्थं ॥ (२२) A om. (२३) A B D om. this remark. (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS.; A मागधन १, D मागधन २ चतुर्थी संवत् १८९१; D संवत् १८९१ वा; C gives no date.

APPENDIX A.

EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Sūtras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS. A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS., some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices; thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS. C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters; thus, on p. 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sūtra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS. A, given in Appendix A on p. 34; again, on p. 5, the letters C D in Sūtra I, 6* refer to an additional Sūtra in the MSS. C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p. 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

APPENDIX A.

TO SŪTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

साहिः साहिष्मान^(१) साहिष्यं^(२) ॥

(१) MS. साहिष्यम् (२) MS. साहिष्यं(?); in A the two letters ष and ष are often indistinguishable.

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26.

जिह्वो ॥ निह्वितं निह्वियं^(१) । निह्विका निह्विया^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

कोइलो ॥ (१) काकी काई^(२) । (१) बकुनः सडणो^(३) । (२) प्रतिकूलः पद-
 जलो^(४) । काकेन काएण^(५) । काकः काओ । भौगिकः भोइओ ।
 त्यागिनां^(६) चार्दणं^(७) । प्रगुणः पडणो । (१) भवगूढः भवजडो ।
 त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चाओ । सुचिरं सुदरं । इचिः सुई ।
 (१) प्रचुरेण पडरेण । पिशाचेन पिसाएण । पिशाचः पिसाओ ।
 वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं^(११) । (१) वनराजो वणराई । (१) प्रजुहं
 पडइं । (१) गजेन गएण । गजः गओ^(१२) । (१) पतिना पइणा ।
 गोमती गोमई । (१) जतुना जडणा । (१) वाहलः वाजलो ।
 वातेन वाएण । वातः वाओ^(१३) । मदिरः मइरो । (१) नदी नई ।
 पादुका पाडआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मओ । कूपिका कूइआ ।
 कपीनां कईणं । (१) नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिजणं । कूपेन कूएण ।
 कूपः कूओ^(१४) कूवो^(१५) । कविना कइणा । कापुहं कावुरिसं^(१६)
 काउरिसं^(१७) । रवेण रएण । देवः देओ^(१८) । मयि मइ^(१९) । प्रयुक्तं
 पडनं । मयूरः मजरो । विप्रयोगः विप्यओओ^(२०) ॥

(१) MS. निह्वियं ॥ (२) MS. निह्वियं ॥ (३) The MS. places this example after पडणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (५) MS. काकेन ॥ (६) MS. चार्दणं ॥ (७) MS. चार्दणं ॥ (८) MS. चार्दणं ॥ (९) MS. चार्दणं ॥ (१०) MS. चार्दणं ॥ (११) Conjectural; MS. वनराजो वणराई ॥ (१२) MS. गजेन ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS. प्रचुरेण पडरेण, and places it after गओ ॥ (१५) MS. गजः गओ ॥ (१६) MS. पतिना पइणा ॥ (१७) MS. गोमती गोमई ॥ (१८) MS. जतुना जडणा ॥ (१९) MS. वाहलः वाजलो ॥ (२०) MS. वातेन वाएण ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A. (२२) MS. पादुका पाडआ ॥ (२३) MS. मदेन मएण ॥ (२४) MS. मदः मओ ॥ (२५) MS. कूपिका कूइआ ॥ (२६) MS. कपीनां कईणं ॥ (२७) MS. नूपुरं नेउरं ॥ (२८) MS. रिपूणां रिजणं ॥ (२९) MS. कूपेन कूएण ॥ (३०) MS. कूपः कूओ ॥ (३१) MS. कूवो ॥ (३२) MS. कविना कइणा ॥ (३३) MS. कापुहं कावुरिसं ॥ (३४) MS. काउरिसं ॥ (३५) MS. रवेण रएण ॥ (३६) MS. देवः देओ ॥ (३७) MS. मयि मइ ॥ (३८) MS. प्रयुक्तं पडनं ॥ (३९) MS. मयूरः मजरो ॥ (४०) MS. विप्रयोगः विप्यओओ ॥

APPENDIX C.

SUTRA I, 11°. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 11° ॥ कौवे जस्यसोऽहं^(१) ॥ ११° ॥

कौवे वर्त्तमानान् नास्ति परयोः जस्यसोः इं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

* कमलहं^(१) मल्लवि अलिउलहं करिगंडाहं महति ।

† असुलहम् एत्य ण जाहं भलि ते णवि दूर^(२) गर्णति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ C D ॥ भे मणामो वयं मणामः । भे भण मां भण । भे भण
अस्मान् भण ॥

मणामः ॥ भे कयं मया कृतं । भे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । भे णिकिटो मत्
निःकटः । भे तं णिकिटो अस्मात् त्वं^(३) निःकटः । भे देसो मम देशः ।
भे देसो अस्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं
अस्मासु निहितं ॥

* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगंडानि कोचति । असुलहम् अणं न येषां भवेते
नापि दूरं गर्णति ॥ † C असुलहं । असुलहं दुर्बलं वा । कदा येषां भवति ॥ ‡ C भलि ।
बलात्कारेण ॥

(१) See H. C. IV, 858. T. V. III, 4. 25. (२) The MS. has the mark of
interpunctuation (i) after each word of the first line; thus कमलहं । म० ॥

(३) The MS. has विदु रवर्णति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1^a. ON PAGE 13.

॥ 1^a ॥ संस्कृतवत संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ १^a ॥

प्राकृते पदयोर् यत् संधिकार्यं तत् संस्कृतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1^b. 1^c. ON PAGE 14.

॥ 1^b ॥ खरस्योद्धृते^(१) ॥ १^c ॥

व्यंजनसंयुक्त. खरो यो^(१) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्धृत इहेष्यते ।
खरस्योद्धृते खरे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गगणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1^c ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्ते ॥ १^c ॥

इवर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्ते वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे^(१) अपि
अवकाशः । ण ^(२)वैरिवर्गे वि अवयासे ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

कर्हिचित्^(१) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतवं कैश्चवं । सौदर्यं
सौदरिचं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ उज्जौ^(१) अपि स्ववर्गसंयुक्तौ^(१)
भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो^(२) । अजितं^(३), अक्षिप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D. ०. (१) D. om. (१) D. वैरिवर्गे (४) D. ०. च्छे (५) See App. C D.
(१) D. उज्जौ and ०. (२) D. उङ्कारो (३) D. अजितं च अक्षिप्तं ॥

APPENDICES B C AND C D.

APPENDIX B C.

TO SUTRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24

सितं ॥ ऊर्द्धं उर्द्धं । प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

TO SUTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

देशी* प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

* C adds the following declension of ऊर्द्ध = उर्द्ध, सप्ता = साप् and सिप् = नित्य ;
ऊर्द्धो । ऊर्द्धा ॥ हे ऊर्द्धो । हे ऊर्द्धा ॥ ऊर्द्धं । ऊर्द्धा or ऊर्द्धे ॥ ऊर्द्धे or ऊर्द्धे ॥ ऊर्द्धे or ऊर्द्धे
or ऊर्द्धे ॥ ऊर्द्धस्य । ऊर्द्धात् or ऊर्द्धात् ॥ ऊर्द्धात् or ऊर्द्धात् or ऊर्द्धात् or ऊर्द्धात्तो or
ऊर्द्धात् । ऊर्द्धेति ॥ ऊर्द्धस्य । ऊर्द्धात् or ऊर्द्धात् ॥ ऊर्द्धे or ऊर्द्धे । ऊर्द्धे or ऊर्द्धे ॥ रत्तं
हेसाहस्यः ॥

सप्ता । सप्तात् or सप्तात् or सप्ता ॥ हे सप्ता । हे सप्तात् or हे सप्तात् or हे सप्ता ॥
सप्ता । सप्तात् or सप्तात् or सप्ता ॥ सप्तात् । सप्तात् or सप्तात् or सप्तात् ॥ सप्तात् । सप्तात्
or सप्तात् ॥ सप्तात् । सप्तात् ॥ सप्तात् । सप्तात् or सप्तात् ॥ सप्तात् । सप्तात् or सप्तात् ॥
सिप् । सिप्ति ॥ सिप्ति । सिप्ति ॥ सिप्ति ॥ सिप्ति ॥

*सत्परिपत्रे^(१) गाने इक्षुपुलिंदाय सुमय सद्गो ।

तह सज्जिज्जद चिची सुहेय जह बोलाए तुंगी ॥ १ ॥

सत्तवीसं^(२) (१) जोयणयरपसरो? जाव अज्जवि स होइ ।

(४) पडिहत्थविंजगहवदवयणे ॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराजदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ अंधदेशे । वंटकसु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे ।
कूलु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । पोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGES 3, 4.

कुलानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चतुरो^(१) ।
तिष्ठति^(१) सिद्धति पश्य^(२) पेक्ख वा^(३) । दूयं तुम्हे^(४) । वयं अम्हे^(५) ॥

भ्यम् ॥ घामेभ्यः^(६) गामार्हितो । गुरुभ्यः^(६) गुरुर्हितो^(१०) । धेणुर्हितो ।
णर्हितो । दोर्हितो वेर्हितो^(११) । (१२) तोर्हितो ॥

अम्हेसु ॥ ** दोसं दोसु । † वेसुं^(१२) वेसु । तीसुं तीसुं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.

मरिताहं ॥ णईणं णईहं । गुरुणं गुरुहं । बुद्धीणं^(१४) बुद्धीहं । मज्झणं^(१५) मज्झहं ।

* C इक्षुपुलिंदाय व्याघ्राणां सद्गो शब्दः सत्परिपत्रे राजाप्रचरे गाने घामे सुमय सद्गो ।
तह तथा चिची अग्निः सज्जिज्जद सज्जते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रिः सुहेय सुखेन बोलाए अतिमा-
नति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यामा तुंगी तमा तनी इति नामनिधानकोषात्करे ॥ ‡ C सत्तवीसं
जोयणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतिभोजनकरप्रसरः जाव यावत् सज्जवि अद्यापि स न पोरु भवति ।
पडिहत्थविंजगहवदवयणे हे प्रतिहत्थविंजपञ्चतिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज वज्ज भत्तारं भत्तारं ॥
§ C सत्तवीसंजोयण शब्दमे चन्द्रः । तस्य करणां प्रसरः चन्द्रकरप्रसरः ॥ ॥ C प्रतिहत्थं
तिरस्कारं विंज मज्झं यच्च स प्रतिहत्थविंजः । प्रतिहत्थविंजो पञ्चपतित् चन्द्रः इति बोधनम् ॥
¶ C घामेभ्यः । गुरुभ्यः । धेणुभ्यः । नदीभ्यः । दायां । भिभ्यः ॥ ** C दोसं । द्वि-चये दुप्
(see ii, 12) । वज्जोद्-अण्यं (iii, 5 दि-दुप्) । खरोऽन्यो (ii, 4 दोदुप्) । अदामनो-
(ii, 11 दोदुप्) । अमुकारो (ii, 15 दोदुप्) ॥ † C वेसुं । द्वि-चये दुप् (see ii, 12) ।
वर्धे (iii, 8 विदुप्, sic!) । खरो (ii, 4 वेदुप्) । अदामनो (ii, 11 वेदुप्) । अमुकारो
(ii, 15 वेदुप्) ॥ ‡ C हयोः ॥ विप् ॥

(१) D सत्परिपत्रे । (२) D सत्तवीस c. m. (३) D जोयण • (४) D • सुमय •
D विंज • (५) D चतुरो • (६) D तिष्ठति, C om. (७) C om. (८) D तुंगी •
वयो • (९) C om. (१०) D गुरुर्हितो • (११) D वे • (१२) D मरिता • (१३) D
वे • (१४) D बु • (१५) D मज्झणं •

SUTRA I, 10^a. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 10^a ॥ द्विचिञ्चिन्धाभ्यां जसञ्चसोः णिः ॥ २०^a ॥

दुषि विषि दुवे* दो वे । तिचि^(१) । (१) एवं प्रसोऽपि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.

सोहा ॥ (१) चकारयहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य उन्वः द्वित्वसकार एव
भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SUTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra : तं तु^(१) वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

TO SUTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra : अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

TO SUTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.

निक्खंतो ॥ (१) तुहेहिंता अन्ते^(१) धिद्धा^(२) । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥

SUTRAS I, 25^a, 25^b. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 25^a ॥ तुहम् अमि ॥ २५^a ॥

युष्मद् अमि परे तुहम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुहं चियां ते
गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25^b ॥ तद् डौ ॥ २५^b ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ तद्^(१) । तुहम् ॥ तुहम्^(२) ॥

* C दुवे । सौ । द्विचिञ्चिन्धाभ्यां जसञ्चसोः णिः । संयोगस्य (iii, 30) इत्यनेन च
प्रत्यय आगतः (दुवे) । सौ (ii, 4) इत्यनेन वे । इत्यस्य वे भवति (दुवे) ॥ † C चिय ।
रवायै चरुचिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् कथि सिद्धकपं । वयोद् (iii, 5 तथि) ।
कनचल (iii, 34 तद्) । तद् सिचं ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो (iii, 17 तुहम्) । रवायै
च (iii, 18 तुहम्) । वयो (iii, 3 तुहम्) । मरुशोर (iii, 23 तुहम्) । अदागसो (ii, 11)
इत्यनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुहम्) । एभिः के (i, 14 तुहम्) ॥

(१) D places तिचि after एवं प्रसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुषि, etc., instead of
the remark एवं प्रसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads चकाराय, om. णिः ; C om. the whole of
this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss ; D gives it as part
of the text. (४) C तुहम् । (५) D तुहम् । (६) D तुहम् । (७) C चिया । (८) C
om. (९) Here follows sūtra ii, 24 (see p. 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26^a—26^d. ON PAGE 11.॥ 26^a ॥ इडं हं अहं^(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ २६^a ॥

अस्यदः सौ परे इडं^(२) हं अहं एते^(३) आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः^(४) ॥
^(५)इडं सौ णरो^(६) । तेण हं विद्धे । अहं कथपणामो* ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ अन्हे जसि ॥ २६^b ॥

अस्यदो जसि परे अन्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अन्हे मणुस्सा^(७) खरा । वयं
 मणुव्याः शूराः^(८) ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६^c ॥

अस्यदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः^(९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां[†]
 पश्य ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ अन्हे शसि^(१०) ॥ २६^d ॥

अस्यदः शसि^(१०) परे अन्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः^(११) ॥ अन्हे पेच्छ । अस्मान्
 पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31^a. ON PAGE 12.॥ 31^a ॥ ^(१२)मद डौ ॥ ३१^a ॥

^(१३)सविभक्तेः ॥ †मद^(१२) । अन्हसि^(१४) ॥ ^(१५)अन्हेसु^(१५) ॥

* C कथपणामो जतप्रणामः ॥ † C मद । मयि । कणचणं (iii, 34) इति मद सिद्धं ॥

(१) places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D इडं ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D place सवि० before सौ ॥ (५) D इडं ॥ (६) D णरो ॥ (७) C मणुस्सा ॥ (८) C खराः ॥ (९) C D place सवि० before अमि ॥ (१०) D शसि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before सि ॥ (१२) C om. sūtra. (१३) D मद ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) Here follows sūtra ३१ (see p. 22) in C D.

TO SUTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.

रिषिः ॥ चङिः^(१) रङ्गी^(२) । दृषभः वसहो *उसहो^(३) रिषयो ॥ वृहस्पति-
 ब्रह्मसाष्टादश रूपाणि भवन्ति ॥ मिश्रस्वरं भुश्रस्वरं भयस्वरं^(४) ।
 विश्रस्वरं वृहस्वरं वहस्वरं । मिश्रप्पर्दं भुश्रप्पर्दं भयप्पर्दं^(५) ।
 विश्रप्पर्दं^(६) वृहप्पर्दं वहप्पर्दं । मिश्रप्पर्दं^(७) भुश्रप्पर्दं भयप्पर्दं^(८) ।
 विश्रप्पर्दं वृहप्पर्दं वहप्पर्दं^(९) ॥ सदृक् वर्गः सरिवहो । सदृक् रूपः
 सरिवहो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृक् सरिवहो । एतादृशः एश्व-
 रिहो । भवादृशः भवारिहो । यादृशः जारिहो । तादृशः तारिहो ।
 कौदृशः केरिहो । ईदृशः^(१०) एलिहो^(११) । अन्यादृशः अशारिहो ।
 अस्मादृशः अन्हारिहो । तुस्मादृशः तुन्हारिहो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9. ON PAGE 16.

कउला ॥ सौधं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.

सरि० ॥ पञ्चिवयाणं१ । यत् अं । तत् तं ॥

* C दृषभः । सरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन वृहस्पत्यस्य तु (दृषभः) । कनकज० (iii, 84) इत्यनेन
 वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (उषभः) । रभषा० (iii, 18) उषभः । शो० (iii, 13) उषभः ।
 रदोद्र० (ii, 10) उषभयो । सरावां० (ii, 1) उषभो ॥ † C वृहस्पतिः । सरा० (ii, 5)
 विश्र० । पययोर्० (iii, 22) पिश्र० । प्रयस० (iii, 11) पिश्र० । पुनः प्रयस० (iii, 11)
 मिश्र० । वकारस्य लोपः विहोषे हते पश्च इति स्थितं (मिश्र०) । अदामसो० (ii, 11)
 इत्यनेन वलोपः (मिश्र०) । अयसोमो० (iii, 2) मिश्रसतिः । लोपे० (iii, 24) मिश्रसतिः ।
 कनकज० (iii, 84) मिश्रस्वरः । सरा० (ii, 4) मिश्रस्वरः । रदोद्र० (ii, 10) मिश्रस्वरः ।
 मिश्रस्वरं इति चिह्नं ॥ † C सदृक् वर्गः । सरा० (ii, 5) सदृक् । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 18)
 सदृक् । सदृशः० (iii, 21) सदृक् । रलुयोर्० (iii, 22) सरिक् । अदामसो० (ii,
 11) सरि-वर्गः । रेफ० (iii, 9) सरिवहः । लोपे० (iii, 24) सरिवहः । रदोद्र० (ii, 10)
 सरिवहो । सरावां० (ii, 1) सरिवहो ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । अदामसः ॥

(१) C चङि, D चङी ॥ (२) C रङ्गी, D रङ्गी ॥ (३) D om. (४) C places this after
 वृहस्वरं । (५) C places this after वृहप्पर्दं । (६) D places this after वृहप्पर्दं ।
 (७) D has again च in the following forms, instead of च । (८) C places this
 after वृहप्पर्दं । (९) D repeats वृहप्पर्दं । (१०) D रदोद्रः । (११) So both C & D

कथं ॥ सम्यक्^(१) सध^(२) । ईषत्^(३) ईसं ॥

सिरे० ॥ सिराण० ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12. ON PAGE 17.

Commentary: सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च दिवचनं बह्व० ॥

वंभ० ॥ ण्यणा । सोहते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13^a, 13^b. ON PAGE 17.

॥ 13^a ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^a ॥

सप्तविंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः । सप्तवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्थयरा^(१) ने पवीश्रंतु ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ सप्तम्याम् द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^b ॥

तेषां कालेण तेषां समएण । तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये^(२) ॥

SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतङ्गनञाः ॥ १४ ॥

सुता वर्णाः उकारनकारञकाराश् च प्राहते न भवन्ति ॥ श्लोकः ।

इि औ स्वरौ ततः पश्चात् च ष ष्ह ष्ह ष्ह ष्ह ष्हः ।

॥ अः उङ्गनशयाः^(१) संति प्राहते नैव कश्चित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

○ गिरिस् । (गिरिस्) ॥ † C नयने । शोभेते ॥ † C रेवौ स्वरौ । गाथा(१) ।

तेनौच विजगार्द सप्तवीसा सरा तथा भविष्या ।

चत्वारि य जोनवदा चउसडी(०) मूलवदा षो ॥ १ ॥

चउसडह । जउनउम । भउधवम । जउदमम । उउयउम(म) । चउतकप । मवस ॥ ११ ॥

जवावा । इरिर् । उककः । जवावः । उककः । एररः रेरेरे । जोयोयो । यौयोयो ॥ १० ॥

इरः यः यः यः (२) ॥ ४ ॥ १४(१०) मूलवदौ भवन्ति संज्ञते(११) । प्राहते ११ भवन्ति ॥ यो इति

संज्ञाचने(१२) ॥ § C चः इति विपक्षनीयः । (१२) चकार उच्चारणैः । कुमारीजनमुखा-

कृतिर् यवौ विपक्षनीयसंज्ञो भवति । अमवद् वाक्यस्य वाक्यिकाङ्कस्युपपन्नमेवम् । अमवदं

(१३) विपक्षोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

(१) C om. (२) B रक्तं । (३) C om., D इवत् ॥ (४) D तित्थयरा ॥ (५) See

Gayatri (ed. Weber) p. 260, Kalpasūtra (ed. Jacobi) p. 88. (६) C चः यः ॥

C चडौ । (म) चउसडह । (२) MS. indistinct, यः for चः ॥ (१०) C ११ ॥

(११) C reverses प्राहते संज्ञते ॥ (१२) See H. C. ii, 203, 199. (१३) C चवा-

मवदं । (१४) C विपक्षः । विपक्षिः ॥

TO SUTRA II, 15. ON PAGE 18.

प्रकृतिः ॥ क्वचिद् अर्हानुसारेऽपि भवति ॥

सकृत् ॥ सकारो* । वीषा । तीषा । लोप ॥

भंगो ॥ देवेहि । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहि । लोप ॥ देवेहि । (अर्हानुसार^(१)) ॥

SUTRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

॥ 19 ॥ तु ता चा हु तु तृण तुआण ओ वि प्यिण वेप्यिण पूर्व० ॥ १३ ॥

भोत्तूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्यिण^(२) । पणवेप्यिण ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.

फडिस्सो ॥ स्लोक्क^(३) ।

(^४) वतोर् मतोर् (^५) दस्स उस्स आस्स आस्सू दरा मणः ।

वत्तो मामत्तदत्ताश्च^(६) च यथा लच्छं दस्स^(७) स्सताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिस्सो । विकारवान् विआरस्सो । अद्धान् सद्धानो । खेह्वान्
खेह्वलू । गर्व्वान् गर्व्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवत्तो । हणुमान् हणुमा
हणुमत्तो । पुण्णवान् पुण्णमत्तो । मागवान् माणदत्तो^(८) । काव्ववान्
कव्वदत्तो^(९) ॥ तच्च भवेऽपि दस्स उस्सो ॥ यामे भवः गामिस्सो । पुरे भवः
पुरिस्सो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्ठ^(१०) । अधः स्थाने हेट्ठादेशो^(११) भवति ।
हेट्ठिस्सो^(१२) ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिस्सो । आत्मनि भवः अपुस्सो ॥

SUTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

॥ 21 ॥ ता ताव जा जावाम् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

* C संस्कारः ॥

(१) C D om. (२) D वं० ॥ (३) C om. (४) C reads वतोः स्थाने दस्स, and makes it to be a new sūtra. (५) D reads चच for चाच ॥ (६) C D दत्ताश्च ॥ (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus दस्स उस्स, etc.; C superordinates them, thus दस्स उस्स, etc. (८) D दत्तो ॥ (९) C वेह्व, वेह्वो, वेह्वि ॥

तावत् सन्दर्भे वाच्यं सन्दर्भे तु तातावो जाजावो भवतः ॥ गाथा । २६०

TO SUTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलङ्घनपयत्नाणं तग्गुणमुत्तं हवेद सन्धेयं ।

कुहिसिन्धुना भोक्त्वा जलपाणं तं असुप्तं ख ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं शृणु ॥

निश्चयत ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

ज्ञातं ॥ भे कथं युष्माभिः ज्ञातं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो^(१) त्वं अहं निःकट्ठः ।

भे अहं सुखो युष्मद् अहं प्रहुरः^(२) । भे देसो तव देसः । भे देसो

युष्माकं देसः । भे णिहिदं त्वयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं यथाय

निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27—27¹. ON PAGE 22.

॥ 27^a ॥ इजेराः पादपूरणे^(३) ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ 27^b ॥ जि अय्यं एवार्थं ॥ २७^b ॥

॥ 27^c ॥ एवरि आनंतर्थार्थे^(४) ॥ २७^c ॥

॥ 27^d ॥ एवह वेवलार्थे^(५) ॥ २७^d ॥

॥ 27^e ॥ यदेः कुडु^(६) ॥ २७^e ॥

* C. D. मनुष्याणां तदुच्यते भवति सर्वथा । युष्मद्विज्ञानां भोक्त्वा जलपाणं (मदं)

(१) D. निक्किट्ठो । (२) C. D. प्रहुरः । (३) See H. C. II, 217. (४) See H. C. II, 188.
(५) See H. C. II, 187. (६) See H. C. IV, 422, 19.

॥ 27' ॥ धूपु विह कुसार्था ॥ २७* ॥

॥ 27* ॥ दडवड^(१) श्रीनार्थे ॥ २७* ॥

*दडवड^(१) होर विहाण ॥

॥ 27^a ॥ अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखयेतस्ततो गमने उवडव ॥ २७* ॥

उवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ 27' ॥ षं षउ षादं षावड^(१) जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे^(१) ॥ २७* ॥

(१)मिव पिव विव ष्व व विअ इवार्थे वा भवति ॥

॥ 27* ॥ दाणिं एणिह^(१) एत्तहे एवहि इदानीमः ॥ २७* ॥

॥ 27' ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमतिमौ ॥ २७* ॥

दोहा^(१) ।

†कालु लहेविणु जोइया (१)जिम जिम मौड^(२) गलेद ।

(१)तिम तिम दंसणु^(१) लहर जो^(१) णियमें^(१) अण्णु^(१) मुणेद ॥ १॥

SU'TRA II, 29^a.

॥ 29* ॥ नेो डः ॥ २८* ॥

* C श्रीत्रं (भवति) विभातं ॥ (दोहा) ।

डोहा सरं(१४) तुडं(१४) वारिषा सा कुष दोहा साणु ।

चिहर(१४) गमिचो रणडो दडवड(१) चोर विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

कानं प्राप्तं नायकं प्रति कृषिन् नायिका प्रच(१९) । डोहा हे नायक सया नं वारितः दोहा दोर्धं सानं दर्थं सा कुड । मिद्रया राचिर गमिचति । दडवड(१) श्रीत्रं विभातं सभातं चोर(१०) (भवति) ॥ † C कालं (सम्भा जायायाः) यथा यथा मोक्षः गच्छति । तथा तथा द्रष्टुं क्षमते (यावत् नियमेन) चात्मानं (नन्यते) ॥

(१) C दडवड ॥ (२) D चावयर ॥ (३) See H. C. IV, 444. (४) C om. the com-mentary. (५) D रणचं ॥ (६) C om., D नाया ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D मोक्ष ॥ (९) D तिमि तिम ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जीने, D जीड ; both con. metr. (१२) D चियमें ॥ (१३) D अण्णु c. m. (१४) C नरं तुडं c. m. (१५) C चिहर ; here r is short, metri causa, = चिहर ; see Vr. 5, 22. (१६) C नववा प्रचर ॥

स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् नस्य प्रायो ङो भवति ॥ संहर्जनं
संघट्टणं संघट्टणं संघट्टणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 8. ON PAGE 23.

रत्नं ॥ स्यष्टं फुडं । स्यष्टं^(१) पुटं^(१) । उल्लुष्टं उल्लुष्टं^(१) । नष्टः षट्ठो^(१) ।
दुष्टः दुष्टो^(१) । सुष्टः सुष्टो^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लक्ष्मी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिव्क्षं । आत्मा आदा आया अन्ता^(१) अन्ता । सर्वज्ञः
सर्वज्ञ^(१) ॥ वेति किं । वच्मि वेच्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भसलो ॥
हस्तौ ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढुमो पढुमो पढुमो पुढुमो ॥
स्त्री थी ॥ *

SUTRA III, 11^a.

॥ 11^a ॥ तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ ११^a ॥

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं
नगरं । मार्गणः मङ्गणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः
व्याघ्रो । घर्कः खर्को । राजा राखा । जर्जरं चर्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो^(१) ।
निर्झरः पिच्छरो । झञ्झरः छच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं^(२) । मंडलं मंटलं ।
डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । घंडः संठो^(३) । ठक्का^(४) ठक्का । मदनः
मतनौ^(५) । कंदर्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मधुरं ।
बंधवः पंधवो ॥

(१) D घर्कः (२) C •ड, D •डू ॥ (३) C •डो, D •डो ॥ (४) C •डो, D •डो
(५) D मतनौ (६) D मन्तप्यो (७) So C D, with ड ॥ (८) So C D, with ड; but
in C, corrected ॥ (९) D मन्तप्यो (?) ॥ (१०) D मन्तप्यो (?) ॥ (११) So C D
but C has a small correction in pencil मतनौ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.

पडि० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्तिः^(१) विहत्थी^(१) । वसतिः वसथी ।
 भरतः भरद्वा । कातरः काटलो । मातुलिंगः^(२) माऊलिंगो ।
 पापं पावं । पुत्रः विट्ठो । पुत्री विट्ठी^(३) ।

SUTRA III, 15^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 15^a ॥ पत्रयोर् मो वा ॥ १५^a ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ श्रवरः^(५) सवरो समरो ।
 खप्रः^(५) सिविणो सिमिणो । नीवी^(५) णीवी णीमी । पूर्वः^(६) पुर्वो^(७)
 पुरिमो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.

दृष्टो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वड्डमाणो । दृष्टः वुड्डो ॥
 धृष्टं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जए । रुदितं रुधं ॥

SUTRA III, 17^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 17^a ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७^a ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सजति
 वोसरइ ॥ यष्टिः लट्ठी^(८) । यष्टिका लट्ठिआ^(८) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.

नानं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ ^(१०)करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणइ ॥
 वज्जो ॥ भगिणी । वड्ढिनी भदणी ॥

(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहत्थी ॥ (३) D •लिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्ठी ॥ (५) D om. (६) D पूर्वः ॥ (७) D पुर्वो ॥ (८) C लट्ठी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C •विष्ठा, D •विष्ठा ॥ (१०) C om. this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28.

जिह्वा ॥ वडमुखं^(१) वलमुखं । गरुडः^(२) गरुलो । तडागः तलात्रो^(३) ।
 क्रीडति कौलद^(४) । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22*. ON PAGE 28.

॥ 22 ॥ पवयोर् व्यसामः ॥ २० ॥

पवयोर् व्यसासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ 22* ॥ रलयोर् व्यसामः ॥ २०* ॥

पर्यंकः । etc.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जम्हा ॥ कस्मात् कम्हा । तस्मात् तम्हा^(५) । तस्मिन् तम्हि^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.

वरिसं ॥ श्री सिरि । द्वीः^(७) द्विरी । अर्हत् अरहते । आचार्यः आच-
 रित्रो^(८) । स्त्री इत्यी^(९) ॥

पदुमं ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लङ्गवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुह्वी ।
 (१०)बङ्गी (१०)बङ्गवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया^(११) । स्यादादः
 सिन्नावात्रो^(१२) । भव्यः भवित्रो^(१३) । (१४)श्वः कृतं सुवे कथं । स्त्री
 जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीत्रा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.

तेरह ॥ चयस्त्रिंशत्^(१५) तेतीसा । चयोविंशतिः^(१६) तेवीसा ॥

(१) D व० ॥ (२) D मु० ॥ (३) D तडाग ॥ (४) D कौलदं ॥ (५) D तम्हा ॥ (६) D तस्मिन् ॥ (७) D श्री ॥ (८) D अचि ॥ (९) D इत्यी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) D सिया ॥ (१२) D अवात्रो ॥ (१३) D भवित्र ॥ (१४) D श्वः ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३४ ॥ कगचजतदपयवा प्रायो लुक्^(१) ॥ ३४ ॥

खरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवा प्रायो लुक् भवति ॥ क^(१) । काकः काओ^(१) ॥ ग । नागः णाओ^(१) ॥ च । पिशाचः पिसाओ^(१) ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिओ ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प । नूपुरं णेउरं ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ^(१) ॥ व । देवः देओ^(१) ॥ अनादेर् इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउटो^(१) ॥ कचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥ पुनः उणो^(१) । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उमहो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥ अर्कः^(१) अर्को । चक्रं^(१) चक्रं । कचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ मर्कचरः णमचरो । नमस्कारः णमोयारो णवयारो^(१) ॥ प्रायो यद्वणात् कचिन् न भवति ॥ अपयः^(१) सवहो । शपः^(१) सावो । सकुसुमं^(१) । प्रयागजलं^(१) पयागजलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुक्तं^(१) । विप्रयोगः विप्यजोओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३५ ॥ यत्वं अवर्गः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवा प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्गोऽवर्गपरो यत्वं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

लक्को ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे^(१) व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

परउत्तं ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । ^(१)एषः एरे । ^(१)मेषः^(१) मेशे ॥

(१) See H. C. I, 177. (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc. (३) D काउ, and adds the following examples कोकिला कोरला । काको कार । प्रतिहूतः पडि-कलो ॥ (४) D काउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D सिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देओ ॥ (८) C ओ, D ओ ; D adds the Skr. परपुष्टः ॥ (९) D कोओ ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D adds मवकारः ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C अपः (modern Hindi आप्). (१४) C सकुसुमं ॥ (१५) C पजुक्तं ॥ (१६) D reads 'प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om. this example. (१८) D सिष ॥

गाथा^(१) ।

(१) लङ्गवश्चनमिलङ्गुलशिलविश्लिदमंदासलाजिदं हिजुगे^(१) ।

वीलजिणे पक्खालदु मम^(२) शयलम् श्रवञ्जंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SUTRA III, 39*. ON PAGE 33.

॥ 39* ॥ ^(१) शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य दकारो वा भवति ॥ ^(१) दाव ताव । कर्द

कयं । ^(२) गर्द गयं । सुदं सुमं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः^(३) ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवाप्रभंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।

मागधी ^(४) शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश्च प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ १ ॥

* Ed. रभस-वश-मस-सुर-शिर-विगलित-मंदार-राजिताहि-युगः ।
वीरजिनः प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् श्रवण-जंवालं ॥ १ ॥

(१) C om. (१) D लङ्ग, C originally लङ्ग, but corrected into लङ्ग; also C D नतिष, but in H. C. IV, 288 नमिल; also D विषविद् ॥ (१) D भुगे ॥
(२) C D शयलम् ॥ (२) C D give no sūtra for this commentary; but add it as if it were part of sūtra 30. (१) D prefixes तावः (sic); see H. C. IV, 262. (३) C D read पर्द पयं ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D शौर ॥

APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGE 3.

ग्रम् ॥ गंगा । ^(१)तुम्हे रक्खउ^(२) । रक्खउ^(२) वो वः । ^(३)अम्हे रक्खउ^(२) ।

रक्खउ^(२) नो^(४) नः ॥

उसि ॥ ^(५)तस्सा तस्सा^(६) ॥

उम् ॥ ^(७)पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं^(८) ॥

डि ॥ गाने^(९) । कुले^(९) । तत्र^(१०) तत्थ^(११) । तस्मिं^(१२) तन्धि । त्वयि तयि ।

मयि^(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4. ON PAGE 15.

इंगाला ॥ ^(१४)विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्^(१५) तीसा । वच्चे^(१५) *वुच्चे^(१६) ।

^(१७)वच्चि वेच्चि^(१८) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ ^(१५)संगट्ठाति संगिण्णद्द^(१८) । छत्वा कट्टु^(१९) । †नयनविह्वनं^(२०) .

सुहं । निर्वार्यते^(२१) नीवारिअद्द^(२२) ॥

* B वुच्चे ॥ † C नयनविह्वीनं सुहं ॥

(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खयो ॥ (३) D अम्हे ॥ (४) C D नो ॥ (५) B तस्सा ॥ (६) B ताच्च ; D adds यस्सा जस्सा जिस्सा । कस्सा कस्सा किस्सा ; and C D add गिरिणो (see I, 12). (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्तो ॥ (८) C D add Skr. तव सुहं । मम सुहं ॥ (९) C D add गानमि and कुलमि ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D तत्थ ॥ (१२) B C D तस्मिन् ; the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तस्मि (or तस्मि ?) । तन्धि । तन्धि (or तन्धि ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तद्द मद्द, D त्वयि तद्द मयि मद्द, C only तद्द मद्द ॥ (१४) B om. this example (see iii, 32. ii, 15). (१५) B om. Skr. translation, but see the marginal gloss. (१६) D वुच्चे ॥ (१७) D repeats वेच्चि ॥ (१८) B संगिण्णद्द ॥ (१९) B कट्टु, D कट्ट (see ii, 19). (२०) B नयनं वज्जमुहं ॥ (२१) So B ; C D निवार्यते ॥ (२२) B निवारिअद्द, C D नीवारिअद्द ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 24.

भक्खरो ॥ कः करोति को करइ । कः पवति को पयइ^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लख्खी ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्पा । तीत्तं तिहं^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जन्हा ॥ ^(३)द्वयः कहे^(४) । योमः^(५) गिन्हे^(६) । ऊम्मा^(७) उम्हा^(८) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24. ON PAGE 29.

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्को^(९) । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27. ON PAGE 30.

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । स्वर्गं समं । स० स० ।

दुर्जनः दुक्खणो । मात्थः^(१०) नट्टो^(१०) । भुक्तं भुत्तं । धान्यं धन्नं^(११) ।सर्पः सप्पो । पुट्ठं^(१२) सुत्तं । कायं कच्चं । शस्यं सस्सु^(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

माया ॥ पिशाचाः पिसाया । ^(१४)वनराजा वणराया । माता माया^(१५) ।यदा जया^(१६) । ^(१७)पापफलं पायहलं ॥ अवर्ष इति किं ॥ देवाःदेव्वा^(१७) । पिता^(१८) पिम्मा^(१८) । ^(१९)लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनंभुअणं । कचिद् भवत्थ एव ॥ पिवति^(२०) पियइ ॥

(१) B पचइ or पचर ? ॥ (२) B तीरहं ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १९, p. 29; A C D place it before लव्वा (see p. 29), but B after जम्मा ॥ (४) A कहे (see note १९, p. 29). (५) C D योमो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यम्मात् (see p. 29). (७) B D उम्मा ॥ (८) D उम्मा ॥ (९) C D काटं ॥ (१०) C D नट्टं ॥ (११) So B; C D वत्थं ॥ (१२) Conjectural; B has पुट्ठं; C D पुट्ठं वत्थं ॥ (१३) B वत्थं ॥ (१४) B om. this example. (१५) B adds शारदा सारया ॥ (१६) B adds अपक्कतं अपक्कयं (MS. अपक्कतं अपचितं अपचितं (MS. अपचितं); then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देवाः ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १९. (१९) D पिवा ॥ (२०) B om. the remainder. (२१) C om.

I. INDEX OF SU'TRAS.

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3		तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥	3	3	3	3
4		क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥	4	4	4	4
5		सागमस्य अप्य आसो णो हे वा ॥	5	5	5	5
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8		द्वितो भ्यसः ॥	8	8	9	9
9		तृतीयादीनां एत्वं एकले स्त्रियां ॥	9	9	10	10
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Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	A	B	C	D
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	D 1 ^b	खरस्य उद्धृते ॥	—	—	—	3
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3		ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥	3	3	3	6
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7		अइ च ॥	7	7	7	10
8		ओरैतः ॥	8	8	8	11
9		अउ च ॥	9	9	9	12
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20	मल् अर्थे आल दल्लौ ॥	20	20	22	25
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21 C D	ता ताव [जा जावास् C D] तावद् [यावतोः C D] ॥	21	21	23	26
22	उपमाने पिव द्व विव विथल्व व जहा वतः ॥	22	22	24	27
23	ओलं अव अपयोः ॥	23	23	25	28
24	खलोः खुः ॥	24	24	26	29
25	तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥	25	25	27	30
26	भे सर्वासु युद्धदः ॥	26	26	I,32	I,31
27	अस्सदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥	27	27	I,44	I,43
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„ 27 ^b	जि अव्यय एवार्थे ॥	—	—	29	32
„ 27 ^c	णवरि अनन्तर्यार्थे ॥	—	—	30	33
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28		न पदादौ ॥	28	28	30	30
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